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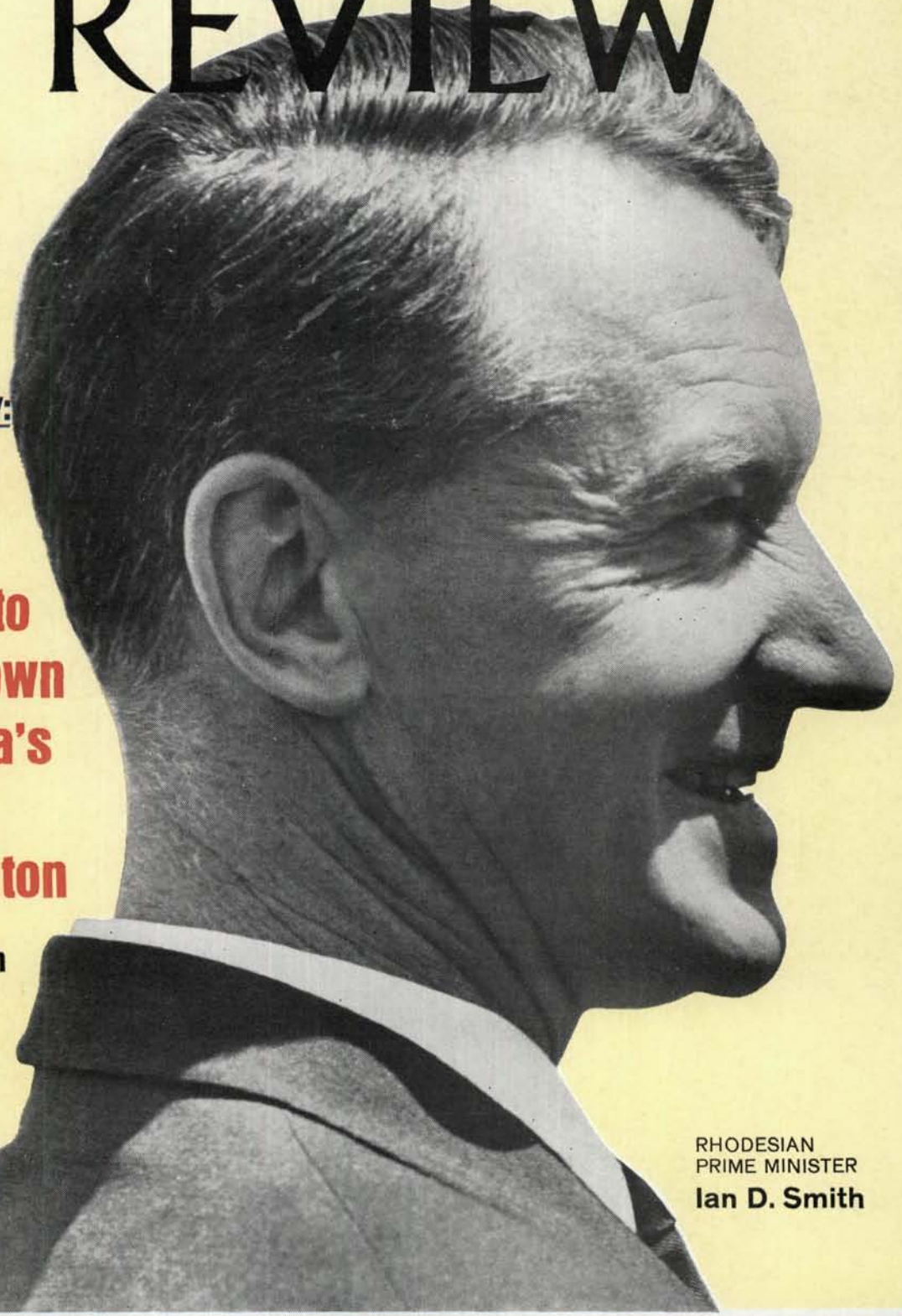
MAY 16, 1967

Wm. F. Buckley Jr.
Senator Dodd's Censure
—see page 509

NATIONAL REVIEW



A CASE HISTORY:

How the U.S. Is Helping to Bring Down Rhodesia's George [illegible]shington

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RHODESIAN
PRIME MINISTER
Ian D. Smith

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The Liberals tell us that the American labor movement has "grown up," is now a responsible social and economic force. Let's check that. Let's take a look at . . .

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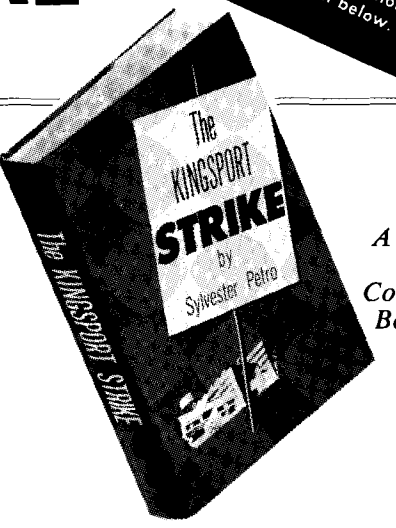

A Selection of the Conservative Book Club

KINGSPORT IS A SMALL CITY tucked away at the northeastern edge of Tennessee. There, in the heart of Appalachia country, Kingsport stands as a beacon of prosperity. It is the home of the Kingsport Press, a huge book manufacturing plant which gives good jobs to more than 2,000 men and women. Yet most of these people walked off the job on March 11, 1963. Today, more than four years later, less than half of them are back at work. Why?

Labor lawyer and writer Sylvester Petro has put the answers in *The Kingsport Strike*. He went down to Kingsport, spent weeks there talking to plant and union officials, strikers and their replacements, townspeople. The result is a human-interest story so vivid you find yourself irresistibly caught up in the lives of every one of these people.

Can a Union Pressman Be Happy with $10,000-Plus a Year?

Jack Rhoten was. He loved his big Miller flatbed press, his friends among the workers and officials, his pay envelope that bulked fatter than those of a few state governors! But Jack hasn't seen his printing press in four years — and he may never see it again. What terrible power could move him, against his will, to turn away from a job he cherished and, maybe, wreck a life that held such promise?

Charlie Heffner walked out too, but he went back to work when he found that the union had lied to him. The union, he discovered, was out to "bust" the Press. That made no sense to Charlie. The company was his life. National union bosses were feeling the pressure from members up North who were then working 3-day weeks while Charlie and his fellow workers racked up the overtime. Why should Charlie walk the plank for them? He began to question union policy. And then the threatening phone calls started.

Terror in the Night

Festus Maddux, a striker who went back to work, awakened in the dead of night. His home was dynamited. Later his broken wife, an Iron Curtain refugee, commented: "I thought I got away from all that stuff — but it's worse over here than it was over there."

The union disagreed. It boasted that violence was "minimal."

This "minimal" violence numbered a mere 1,000 outbreaks. Children were used as shields. An ambulance driver refused to cross a picket line to attend a patient at the company. A grocer was threatened for selling food to people who stayed on the job.

Other "creampuff" striker tatics included bombings, cut power lines, shootings, Molotov cocktails, acid throwing, howling mobs, stonings, beatings.

Does all of this sound like the work of underworld thugs or Nazi storm troopers? *These also are acts winked at by union management — and condoned by our government!*

The Real Villains: The NLRB, and the Politicians Who Created It

Sylvester Petro has made a lifetime study of our labor laws. He shows why the Kingsport strike, and hundreds like it, would never have happened if the Left had not fashioned a near-tyrannical monster, the National Labor Relations Board . . . and if the American people had not submitted.

Petro points out that most of our labor laws are neutral in wording. They play no favorites. But the NLRB operates in large measure without legal restraint, *and is far from neutral*. The result is social and economic disasters like the one at Kingsport.

Risk-Free Examination

This is a story you should read. We *guarantee* that you will agree that this is an important book, or return it within 30 days for money back (including *extra* cash to cover your return postage). Mail coupon below with $5 to your bookseller or Arlington House, 81 Centre Avenue, New Rochelle, New York, 10801.

Nuggets from *The Kingsport Strike* . . .

- *Why "labor solidarity" is a myth . . . a myth imposed by our labor laws.*
- *Reuther's threat to those "who flirt with the idea that they can defy organized labor."*
- *Union boycotts Kingsport books. Major encyclopedia publisher would rather switch than fight.*
- *Implicit in union philosophy: the medieval concept of a static society. (Who are the real reactionaries?)*
- *Lest we forget: Petro provides valuable review of that monument to UAW terror tactics and NLRB bigotry, the Kohler strike.*
- *A searching look at wage policy. How it is ultimately fixed by the free market.*
- *Why unions are largely unnecessary.*
- *The NLRB kangaroo court. The Kingsport Press is denied a hearing on the very issue on which the union brought charges. NLRB decides case before seeing company legal briefs.*
- *The union blacklist. (There will now be a pause of three or four decades while the Reuther crowd explains why boycotts of non-union products are good and boycotts of Communist products are bad.)*

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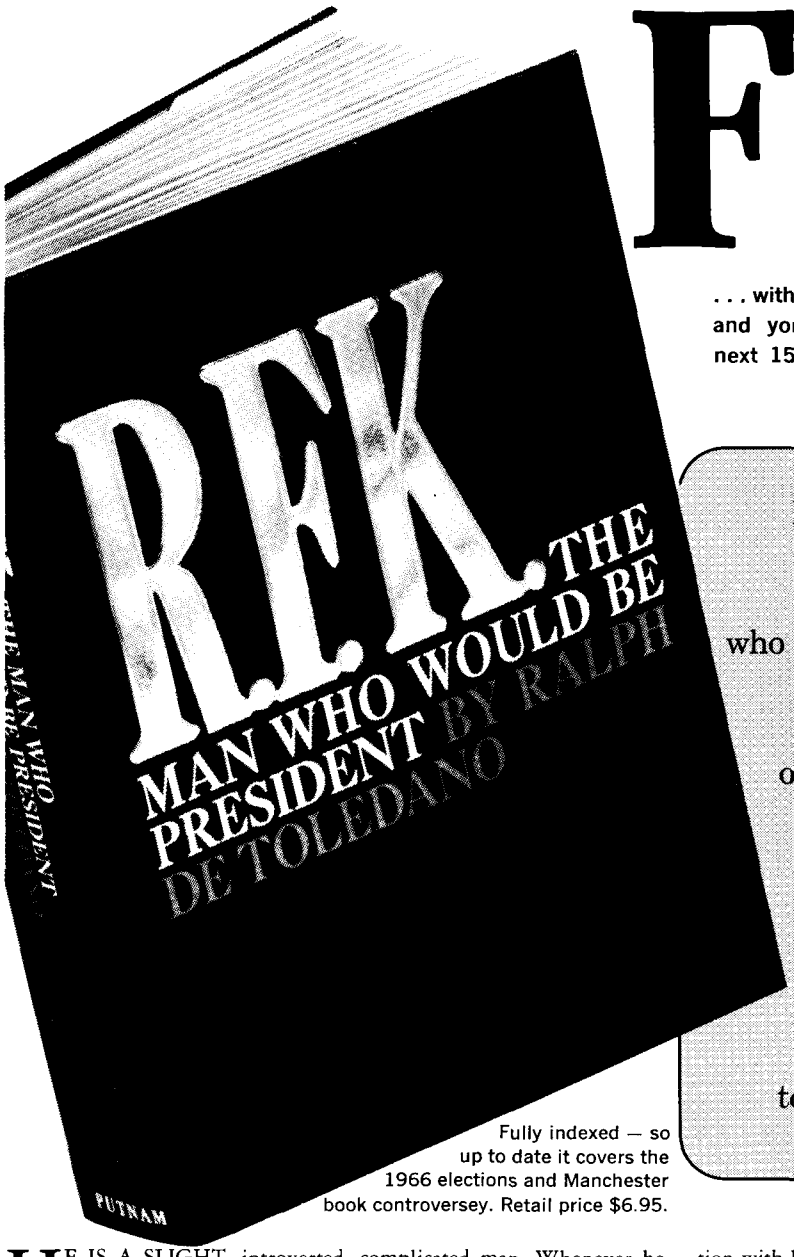

Fully indexed — so up to date it covers the 1966 elections and Manchester book controversey. Retail price $6.95.

Ralph de Toledano's fascinating, chilling portrait of the Senator who covets the supreme power of the U.S. Presidency more than any other man. Documented evidence that *no* consideration will deter Senator Kennedy from this objective. A book that leaves you with a new determination to keep America out of his hands.

HE IS A SLIGHT, introverted, complicated man. Whenever he passes the big picture of his brother Jack, he touches it ritualistically. When he plays touch football he changes the rules in the middle of the game — or calls off the game if the other team starts catching up.

When he entertains at his Hickory Hill estate, guests do what he wants, or face scorn and ridicule. His mastiff Brumus is allowed to help himself to food from the guests' plates. "Once was enough for me," remarked a Hickory Hill visitor. "That damned dog was all over me, and Bobby seemed to think that my objections were pretty stuffy if not downright unmannerly. Brumus got most of my meal and left paw marks all over my clothes."

R.F.K. seems to take his religion more seriously than his brother did. Each night he prays abundantly with his abundant family. He can pursue a racketeer — provided the pursuit is good politics — with a reformer's zeal. Yet he wound up, with Frank Sinatra and Dean Martin, on Joe DiMaggio's blacklist because of Marilyn Monroe.

Political, Psychological Study

As a political document, this important new book has the taste of high politics — and backroom politics. But more: Toledano is committed to oldfashioned virtues and Constitutional rights. He cares when a man who should know better plays political games with the Communist menace. And so this book is informed with a muted but unmistakable moral indignation that keeps repeating: "Do we Americans now hold ourselves so cheap that we dally with a Bobby Kennedy?"

As a psychological study, the book is challenging. The personality pattern often displayed by this junior son of the rich is familiar enough: the terrible need to prove himself, the years without accomplishment, the indifference to human sensibilities, the brooding absorption with himself, the curious tightfistedness, the people-eater attitude. And above all, the strange need to *win,* no matter what.

Yes, here is a portrait that fascinates, and chills. You will think about it, talk about it. And come away with a new determination to keep America out of the hands of this man.

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What is Bobby Kennedy *Really* Like?

Here Are Some Facts You May Not Know...

- Bobby's zest for wiretapping (and more evidence of why J. Edgar Hoover has no fear of a public confrontation).

- November 22, 1963. The anguished scene as Bobby and Ethel get the news while lunching. That much-debated call from LBJ. Bobby's road back from the edge of despair. Bobby and Jackie grow closer.

- Bobby's disastrous meeting with prominent Negroes led by James Baldwin, Lena Horne, Harry Belafonte. "Being in the same room with you makes me want to vomit," snarls one.

- The invasion of New York: from visitor to Senatorial candidate in 27 days. Secret meetings, bold tactics, and the power merchants who served up the state to RFK. How the image makers gave Bobby a quick face-lifting.

- The Catholic non-issue, and how the Kennedys made it work both ways. How Bobby's "People Machine" kept the pot boiling.

R.F.K. As Seen by Those Who Know Him Personally. "A Vulture." "Arrogant." "Young Whippersnapper." "Little Lord Fauntleroy." "S.O.B." . . .

1. **Jacqueline Kennedy:** "He's the one I'd put my hand in the fire for." And again: "I sometimes wish that Bobby, because he is so wonderful, had been an amoeba and then he could have mated with himself."
2. **Lyndon Johnson:** "A young whippersnapper."
3. **Melvin M. Belli:** "He's arrogant, rude, and even ignorant of the law. He's the moneyed Little Lord Fauntleroy of government. Every newspaperman knows what he is, and even Johnson can't stand him, but everybody's too scared of the son-of-a-bitch."
4. **Washington newsman:** "He has all the patience of a vulture, without any of the dripping sentimentality."
5. **Joseph P. Kennedy:** "Bobby doesn't care how he wins."
6. **Henry J. Taylor:** "Neither hail, rain, sleet, nor gloom of night stay Bobby from the swift completion of his ride on the gravy train. Conscience and money somehow do not seem to mix in politics."

- RFK brushes aside union terrorism in Kohler and Perfect Circle strikes. The gap between Bobby's TV posture and his later version of the same incidents in his book, **The Enemy Within.**

- Fascinating cut and thrust between LBJ and RFK. Johnson gags on a bitter pill. 1964: adroit moves win that round for Lyndon.

- The Meredith incident. Bobby publicly compares Mississippi with Nazi Germany, privately negotiates face-saving gestures with Ross Barnett.

- Bobby's vendetta against Roy Cohn: surveillance, mail checks, 30 hours of questioning. How Cohn stumbled upon Bobby's involvement with **Life's** Hoffa exposé.

- Schlesinger and Rusk play on JFK's wavering, lead him to emasculate the Cuban invasion. Ethel embarrasses Bobby in front of Cuban leader Roberto San Roman.

- Bobby's mode of conduct as employee of Senate Labor Rackets Committee: he yells at Senators, bullies witnesses. The Army purchasing agent — a woman — who charged that Bobby and his aide had put her in a "hot room" and had "browbeaten, badgered and kicked me around." Bobby uses committee power to persecute Nixon aide Murray Chotiner. Congressman Celler saves Bobby from House investigation.

- RFK's role in the Reuther Memorandum calling for action against the "radical right": "an unknown number of millions" that were said to include the followers of Barry Goldwater.

- Bobby boasts that 57,000 government officials are taking "counter-insurgency" courses. The puzzled man in charge corrects the figure to 400 or 500.

- Bobby charges attempted bribes — which, if offered, make **him** an accessory after the fact.

- FBI undermined. RFK forces Hoover to reassign best agents from national security duty, leaks anti-FBI stories to pals in the press.

- *Bobby moves to control nation's banking and business.*

- The Cuban missile crisis: how hawks and doves lined up. State Department pinpoints 47 missile sites, but word of them never — apparently — reaches JFK. His strange disagreement with Fulbright. JFK backs down, twice. Khrushchev calls the shots.

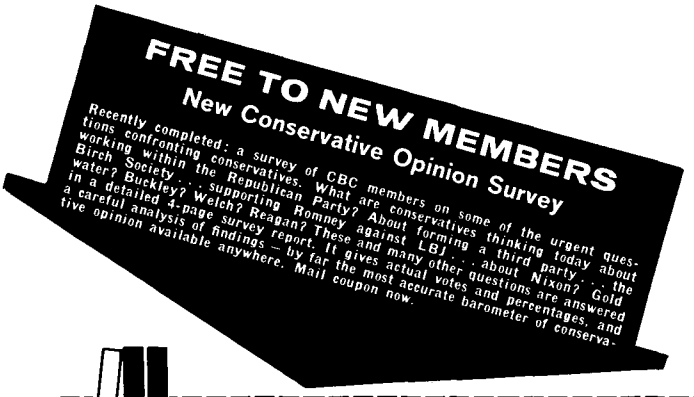
- Bobby plays it both ways with Joe McCarthy. His near-fight with Roy Cohn. Unpublicized accomplishments of McCarthy. Bobby maneuvers McCarthy into squabbles with Mundt, other GOP Senators.

- Kennedy aide, fired by OSS and CIA as security risk, given sensitive Justice Department job by RFK.

- How did LBJ get the V.P. nomination? Toledano lays out the conflicting stories and, while offering no definitive answer, etches a pattern of deals within deals that would dazzle Machiavelli.

- 6 eminent Americans who found their way, fully clothed, into the Kennedy swimming pool.

- Bobby charges GOP with spending $1 million for anti-Catholic literature. Fair Campaign Practices Committee exonerates Republicans — but not until **after** the election.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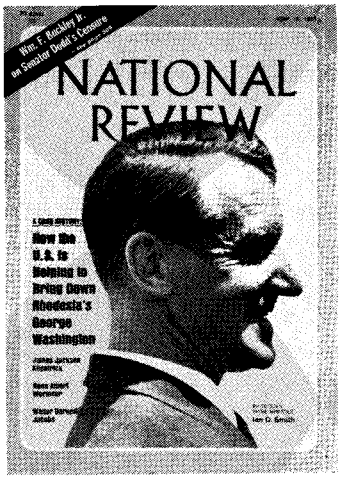
IN • THIS • ISSUE

➔ UN proclamations aside, how is Rhodesia really doing? Herewith a searching report by three eminent observers of international affairs. **Rene Wormser** is an authority on international law, member of the New York bar, and author of several books. **James Jackson Kilpatrick,** syndicated columnist, author, prize-winning editorialist, most recently appeared in these pages with a brilliant sketch of Alabama's feisty first gentleman. **Walter Darnell Jacobs** is Associate Professor of Government and Politics at the University of Maryland, co-author of *Modern Governments.* Their report, alive with fresh observations and foursquare in its objectives, goes into the pros and cons of such sticky wickets as censorship, detentions, the slow advancement of the blacks—and concludes that Rhodesia deserves, especially by contrast with the newly submergent nations her neighbors, a much more sympathetic shake from the world press.

➔ **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** deplores the decision of the Senate Subcommittee to lower the boom on Senator Dodd. If there are laws that prescribe full disclosure at such ambiguous benefits as Senator Dodd attended, let them be cited. If there are no such laws, let them be written. But why in the meantime hang Dodd? . . . **Frank S. Meyer** analyzes the historical factors that make George Wallace's 1968 Presidential aspirations a particularly tough problem for the conservative movement because certain brands of populist demagoguery sound so much like a genuine libertarian anti-statism. . . **James Burnham** is moved by the most recent revolution in Hellas to raise the question whether "democracy" is actually possible in any but the fairest of times, in any but the particularest of soils . . . . And **Alec Waugh** has played hooky to the Far West, where he encountered slopes, and thereon vines, and thereon grapes, from whence he is delighted to report that there is something more than water produced.



➔ Sir Shane Leslie's refulgent reminiscences call forth a fond and proud review by **Anthony Lejeune,** whose eye is caught by duels, and improbable romance, another's all too probable romancings, and the completely unlikely but perfectly true observation that Sir Shane has lived under six sovereigns of England, seven popes, and fourteen U.S. Presidents. . . . Mr. **Neal B. Freeman,** a senior editor of Arlington House, reviews a new book by James Reston of the *New York Times,* a book in which the question is seriously raised whether the *Times* and her cousins have been relaying the world's news properly. . . . **Gordon Tullock,** Professor of Economics at the University of Virginia, gives good marks for courage and inventiveness to Nathaniel Weyl for his *The Creative Elite in America* . . . . Quite a literature has sprung up, as **William Rickenbacker** points out, heralding the "partnership" of free enterprise and state planning. And it is all a lost cause, if only because there is innovation in all healthy growth, and innovation can be neither foreseen nor foreordained . . . . Mr. **C. H. Simonds,** performing the impossible, writes brightly about teevy.➔

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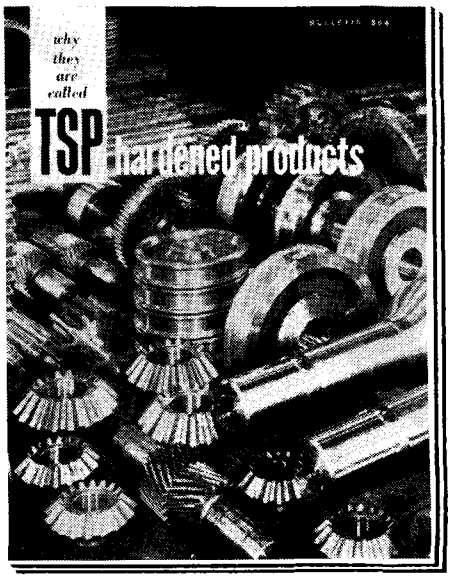

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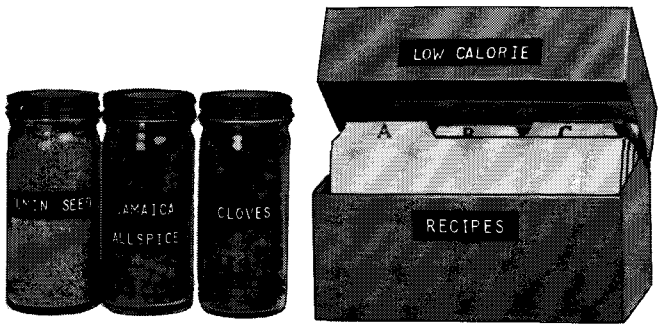

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TO THE EDITOR

Doing Them In

Oh, you hackle-raisers, you! After that in-depth doing-in of George Wallace [April 18] what could have been better than the truly royal smothering of Chuck Percy ["Political Twiggy," by Garry Wills, May 2]!

Baltimore, Md. G. F. BATES

The Dime Store Vote

I simply must comment on the recent lot of Wallace supporters and frothing malcontents who've been nailing NATIONAL REVIEW to the crucifiction-posts ever since your magazine came out with the truth concerning the Birch Society, Governor Wallace's husband (George), the gullibility of the motion picture audience for contemporary flickers, and other detriments to sane conservatism.

The ranks of YAF and the New York Conservative Party, who wish to convert and cure chronic liberals, not castrate them, appreciate the service you've done and hope that the Dutees, the Heizers, the Morrisseys *et al.* [*NR* Letters, May 2] will reconsider their position and put more of their CO_2 behind responsible and realistic-type projects.

Flushing, N. Y. RONALD F. DOCKSAI
YAF County Coordinator

Those correspondents of yours who reacted to James Jackson Kilpatrick's excellent story on George Wallace as if it were a lynching bee sponsored by effete intellectuals did themselves the unintended service of bearing out much of what Kilpatrick said. The dime store vote is on the march.

Durham, N. C. DUANE LAWTON

Undoubtedly James Jackson Kilpatrick will receive numerous accolades for his penetrating study of George Wallace ["What Makes Wallace Run?" April 18]. He deserves them; it was an illuminating article.

However, was it necessary for him to resort to the old press ploy of substituting *'em* for *them* in the Governor's quoted remarks; and to mock his pronunciation of Or-e-gon? The article could have stood on its own without the use of such tactics.

New York, N. Y. MICHAEL CRAIN

Meyer on McLuhan

Frank S. Meyer completely ignores the unimpeachable sources (and there are literally hundreds) which Marshall McLuhan cites to back up his theories

(Continued on p. 538)

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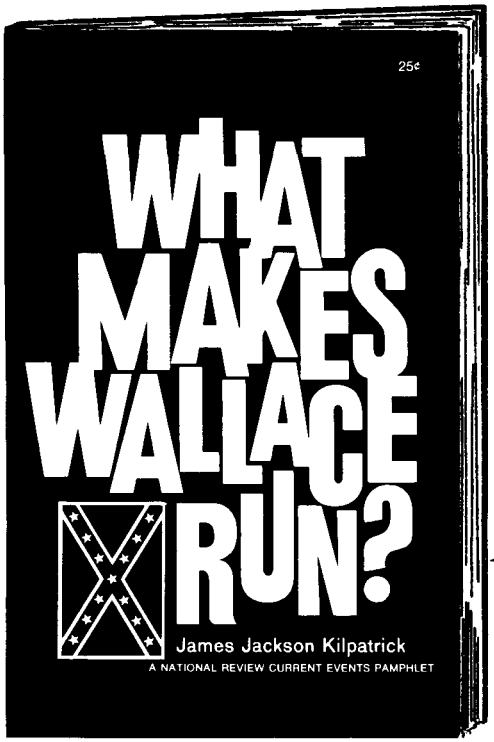

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This article stirred up so much comment we had to reprint it!

"What Makes Wallace Run?" was a sell-out when it appeared as a *National Review* cover story (we had to airmail extra shipments to many of our dealers). If you read it you know why. Fact-filled and right to the point, it gives you a completely different view of presidential aspirant George C. Wallace, the man who can "strut sitting down." It's a crackerjack job of reporting—just the sort of thing you expect to find in NR.

James Jackson Kilpatrick, Editor of the Richmond *News-Leader* went to Alabama to get a story and he came back with one—a story bound to raise your blood pressure one way or the other. It's all here—the Wallace family background, his boyhood, his marriage, his struggles to establish himself—all leading to the arrival on the national scene of George Wallace, the candidate of the dime-store vote.

He's no joke. (The latest Gallup Poll shows that Wallace's strength is *already* beginning to materialize.) One look at his electoral vote arithmetic convinces you of that. That's why politicians of both parties are getting more and more concerned as the 1968 presidential election approaches. That's why this article is so important to everyone who is *at all* interested in who our next president will be.

Now, for the first time, it is available in a handsome 24-page pamphlet format. This is the *complete* article—not a word cut—in a handy size that's just right for carrying around with you. And it's priced right too, so that you can give copies to all those people you know who ought to be reading it—your friends, relatives, neighbors and *everyone* else you know who is at all interested in politics, that is, anyone *at all* interested in the future of our country.*

And you'll want extra copies on hand for some of the meetings you'll be having in the near future. "What Makes Wallace Run?" has the almost magical quality of starting up a conversation or stirring up a discussion the minute it appears. You'll never have to put up with dull meetings or boring conversations. It's surefire. Use the handy coupon *now* to get *your* copies!

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The WEEK

● When pressed for a comment at New York's Loyalty Day parade, which followed by two weeks the Spring Mobilization for Peace gala, New York's Mayor John Lindsay came forth with: "Today we dedicate our thinking to the Constitution, and to the Bill of Rights, the right of all our citizens to speak freely," thereby signifying that Mayor Lindsay believes the Right to be Loyal is at least as important as the Right not to be, which is the best off Loyalty has been in New York City for quite a while now.

● Bobby Kennedy may not have the youth bag all sewn up: in a recent survey of American college students, he ran behind George Romney when respondents were allowed to pick the best man from the whole field. When faced with either-or choices between two possible Presidential candidates, the students picked Nixon over Johnson, Romney over Johnson, Romney over Kennedy and Percy over Kennedy. Johnson was found to be losing support among liberals and "independents" and gaining none from students who classify themselves as Republicans or conservatives. Other findings of the survey, conducted by the Gilbert Marketing Group: 77 per cent feel that politicians have "some integrity" but usually go along with pressure groups; 43 per cent think politicians are motivated by "opportunism" and 40 per cent more call it "pragmatism," yet 81 per cent believe that "the man with no principles at all" is *not* best equipped to succeed in politics.

● The judge who presided at the second trial of Ernesto Miranda has voiced misgivings over the Supreme Court doctrine under which Miranda's first conviction was reversed because he was not advised of his rights before signing a confession. Trial No. 2 ended in conviction on the kidnaping-rape charges—but only just: the prosecution turned up a surprise witness. At one point, Miranda admitted his guilt in open court but with the jury absent; without the new witness, according to the judge, Miranda could have gone free on a directed verdict of acquittal despite that admission. Most of the trial was occupied with discussions of the Supreme Court ruling, he added: "When the verdict was finally in, I suddenly realized . . . that we had not dealt at all during the nine-day trial with the basic question of guilt or innocence."

● Judge J. Skelly Wright of the District of Columbia says he doesn't think *all* critics of the Supreme Court are bigots, just some of them. But with one casual clonk of the gavel, delivered ex officio in a speech in New Orleans, he managed to smear them all. There are, he said, the good critics, those who sincerely oppose the Court's decisions in criminal law, religious freedom, reapportionment, national security etc., and then there are those who are insincere, who use the Court's record "in other areas" to mask their own true feelings against the Court, racist feelings stimulated by *Brown* v. *Board of Education* et seq. But how does the Judge know when someone isn't just using the argument against *Escobedo* to conceal the racist frenzy in his heart? Dare we ask? Clonk. Next case.

● The union shop faces a challenge from an unusual quarter. Last summer the city of Rochester (N.Y.), by agreement with a local AFL-CIO union, ordered all city employees to join the union, pay dues, obey union officials—or be fired. The Civil Service Employees Association has filed suit in the State Supreme Court, maintaining that the agreement violates relevant portions of the state Constitution. If the CSEA wins, its members will enjoy a privilege withheld from the majority of New York workers: which would be chaos. If it loses, a howl against compulsory union membership will be heard. In any case, the climate seems right for the founding of New York Citizens for Right to Work, announcement of which was made last month.

● UN economic sanctions are failing to bring the independent Rhodesia of Prime Minister Ian Smith to heel. The country's economy is bubbling along at just below the normal level, and now Smith's government has named a five-man (three whites and two blacks) commission to look into the best way of drafting a new constitution. The sanctions appear to be doing more harm to Zambia, Rhodesia's Africanized neighbor to the north. Copper production there is down because of the reluctance to use Rhodesian coal and railroads for smelting and exporting, and because indispensable skilled white workers are leaving Zambia faster than black replacements can be trained.

● Britain and the United States, after a watchful week, recognized the government of Premier Kollias that was installed in Greece by the military junta after its successful coup in the pre-dawn hours of April 21. In its first fortnight the junta—in which artillery colonel Papadopoulos, tank brigadier Patagos, and intelligence colonel Makarezos are the leading figures—confounded global critics. The takeover was accomplished with a most un-Grecian speed and efficiency. There was no bloodshed or rioting. Rumors about executions of left-wingers and Communists who had been arrested were stilled by per-

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mitting reporters to see and talk to the alleged victims—the Papandreous, father and son, among them. Contrary to predictions, the King and the generals accepted the *fait accompli,* however reluctantly. The general population went along undisturbed, as if relieved to be rid of the constant political wrangling of the past two years. It seems unlikely that serenity can continue indefinitely, but some old Balkan hands are suggesting that this may be a Turkish-style coup in which the military briefly takes emergency power in order to clear up an accumulated mess, then hands the government back to civilian control under revived constitutional procedures.

● In Japan, voters are disenchanted with leftist politicians: in local elections last week, 95 of 154 newly-elected mayors were Conservatives, thirteen are Socialists, one a Communist. In Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines and other places where they play a leading role in commercial life, the "overseas Chinese" are identifying themselves more and more closely with their adopted countries. Thailand and Taiwan are prospering; Indonesia's new leaders are coping heroically with the shambles inherited from Sukarno; India, though still poor and hungry, has at least begun to free herself from the monolithic rule of the Congress Party; South Korea has largely recovered from the war, enjoys a burgeoning economy, and is closer than ever to political stability (in the recent election campaign there, *nobody* questioned the wisdom of sending troops to Vietnam). Mao's Cultural Revolution has done much to discredit Red China in Free Asia—but over there, where they still believe in the Domino Theory, people remember that it was the United States that held the line in South Korea and the Formosa Strait, and holds it now in Vietnam.

● As Pope Paul would put it, who is not for the safest possible automobiles before, during and after crashes? But one wonders what the net result is going to be, safety-wise, of this year's operation of the new National Traffic Safety Agency. The Agency laid down two or three dozen standards which, by law, must be met by all cars turned out after Dec. 31, 1967. Some are minor and readily complied with. The Agency and the auto companies argued back and forth about others, and reached compromises. A few, the companies say, cannot be met, because of the technical circumstances of auto production, within the time limit. With several items, there is absolutely no objective evidence that the prescribed changes will in fact reduce accidents or damage from accidents; conceivably, so far as evidence goes, they could make things worse. If the Agency's director, Dr. William Haddon, Jr., insists on all the changes by the announced date, it will mean insufficient time for the researchers and engineers to modify their mechanisms accordingly and test them adequately. The almost certain outcome will be a whole new class of accidents next year. Resulting from bugs in Dr. Haddon's safety gadgets! The triple collision?

● Edward M. Keating has been tossed off his own magazine, *Ramparts,* for reasons which, we understand, are organizational rather than ideological. The day before it happened James Aronson and Cedric Belfrage resigned *their* editorships of the *National Guardian,* for reasons which were organizational rather than ideological. Three other *Guardian* correspondents (not including its Red star over Asia, Wilfred Burchett) also had organizational difficulties, and resigned. Keating was the founder, Aronson and Belfrage the co-founders, of their respective publications. On the surface there would appear to be no connection between the two shake-ups. The *Guardian* has been labeled "a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia" by the House Un-American Activities Committee. *Ramparts* has not had that distinction. Sympathetic vibrations, perhaps.

● Fifteen out of twenty radio talks in a new series, "Extremism '67," sponsored by the United Church of Christ, have been taped by the series' director, Milton Ellerin, who researches extremists for the American Jewish Committee. For the other five spots Ellerin lined up liberal Republican Clifford P. Case on "political extremism"; J. Irwin Miller, former head of the National Council of Churches, on the National Council of Churches and extremism; Bayard Rustin, revolutionary, on black power extremism; Jenelle Moorhead, of the National PTA, on the National PTA and the extremist Birch Society; and Methodist Bishop Richard C. Raines on extremists and the school prayer amendment. Nothing like objectivity to promote discussion.

● Did you notice, late last month, that a British cargo ship was among the casualties of a U.S. bomb raid against Haiphong harbor? Precision bombing has come a long way.

● This week is the tenth anniversary of the death of Senator Joe McCarthy. *NR* more or less officially took the position, seven or eight years ago, that there is no use in trying to set the record right against the strongest current in memory, up against which mere history is simply useless. A trivial example taken from the re-re-republication of Richard Rovere's standard on McCarthy in the April 30 *New York Times* Magazine. McCarthy, Rovere remarks, and the *Times* abstracts that remark in big bold headlines, said "of General Marshall . . . that he 'would sell his grandmother for any advantage.'" As it happens the remark did not originate with Sena-

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In the Next Issue

Thunder in the Middle East:
Cyprus? Iran? Iraq? Syria?
Egypt? Jordan? Israel? Yemen?
Saudi Arabia? Aden?
Articles by
Kermit Roosevelt
Anthony Harrigan
Tom Sage

---

tor McCarthy but with somebody else. Much else is not true about McCarthy or McCarthyism which the mythologists have got hold of, but the fight is not worth waging at this point. If a modern scholar discovered that Beelzebub was actually the saintliest of men, he would do better to burn his research, than grow old in the coils of revisionism. All that is left to those who knew McCarthy, or what McCarthyism was all about, is a private contempt for the hysteria-makers, and that is enough to see us through the fifteenth and even the twentieth anniversary rendering of Mr. Rovere's ghost story.

● Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia has come up with his formula for peace in Southeast Asia. First the United States withdraws from South Vietnam. This so enhances its prestige that what do you know, pretty soon "even Ho Chi Minh will be asking for American aid."

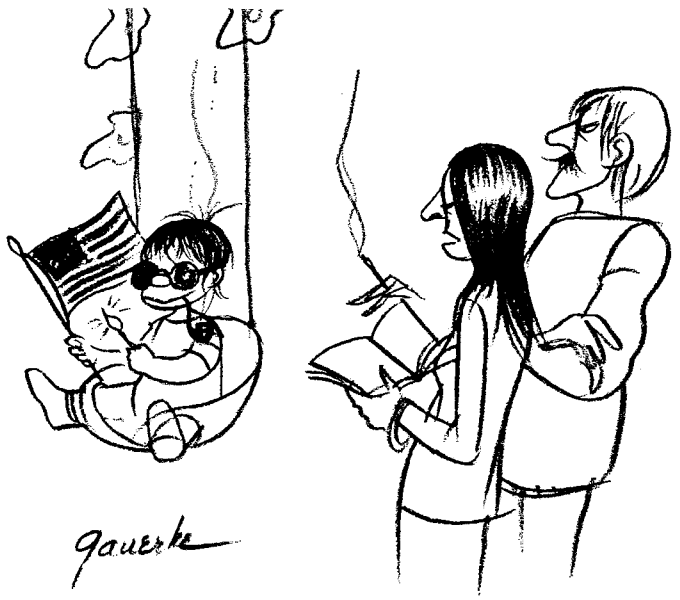
The Dissenting Champion

Quite possibly Muhammad Ali is sincere in his refusal to accept induction into the army, sincere in declaring, "I have searched my conscience and I find I cannot be true to my belief in my religion by accepting such a call." Ali is not very bright; at one time he held a draft exemption for failing to meet what was then the minimum intelligence standard. The sportswriter Arthur Daley—who "was captivated by Cassius the first time I met him at the Villagio Olympico in Rome at the 1960 Olympic Games" and who still writes of him sympathetically—accurately notes that Cassius-become-Ali has been "thoroughly brainwashed." The "unbelievably fast" slugger, certified by his champion's belt as more formidable than any other in the roped arena, is in this draft episode a helpless dupe, a mere puppet of those for whom the qualm of an individual conscience is the least of concerns. But a brainwashed puppet may still be sincere.

States, unfortunately, cannot be governed, or preserved, by sincerity. Society must take primarily into account not the subjective motivation of acts, but their objective consequences. Cassius-Ali, after having been granted every benefit of the law's perhaps too generous processes, has defied the law, deliberately, openly, flagrantly. Therefore, whether conscience, cowardice or pure malice motivated his act, he must be duly punished by the law.

Ali's defiance of the draft law is only one of a lengthening series of actions that are posing fundamental questions for this nation; questions focused, many of them, on the role of *dissent* in a democratic society. The right of dissent is a primary axiom of any form of democracy, but no single right can be absolute in practice. There are always other rights that might be invaded by the untrammeled exercise of *this* right. And it can be, especially in troubled times, that the extreme and unconditional exercise of this right or that one may jeopardize the safety and even survival of a nation. When that danger becomes acute, the nation, unless ready for suicide, must limit the right, perhaps all rights.

If the defense of the nation requires a draft law, then compliance with the law cannot be left to the unconditional decision of each individual. A draft is by its nature a coercive restriction of certain individual rights and freedoms. Actually, the U. S. draft law is exceedingly generous in allowing for private conscience and belief: it gives a special status to the specified ministry of every religion, and it exempts from military service all genuine conscientious objectors—that is, all those who can present evidence showing that they are opposed to war, to the institution of war. It does not and cannot exempt those who are, or say they are, against, not war as such, but simply *this* war. This is the claim now being advanced by SNCC, other Black Power



"Dr. Spock says we should ignore it—it's just a stage he's passing through."

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Focus on WASHINGTON

◆ The Great Thaw melted all formal opposition to the Space Treaty, as the Senate ratified it 88-0 late last month. Most of the opposition to the treaty—which bans the use of military weapons in outer space—was based on the fact that it provides for no inspections. But when Deputy Defense Secretary Cyrus Vance and Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, testified that this would not adversely affect the national security, the opposition had no means of getting together the necessary votes to defeat the Treaty, and decided not to be stuck with a lost cause. They rationalized their acquiescence by stating that unlike the Consular Treaty, which binds us to perform certain acts, the Space Treaty binds us to *refrain* from certain acts—which the Administration has unilaterally adopted as its policy anyway.

◆ The Administration hasn't had as much success on the domestic front, however, as it has enjoyed with its East-West "thaw" proposals. The President has become increasingly involved in Vietnam matters, and Postmaster General Lawrence O'Brien—formerly his chief arm-twister on Capitol Hill—has finally had to pay some attention to the mess in his own department. Hubert Humphrey has been dispatched to replace O'Brien, and especially to save those programs which the Republicans have a chance of scuttling this year, such as the Teacher Corps, demonstration cities, and rent supplements programs.

◆ In all its maneuvering over the campaign financing bills, the Senate first passed some significant changes in the Corrupt Practices Act, then left the matter hanging in the air. The revisions were sponsored by Sen. John J. Williams (R., Del.), and they were designed to plug two huge loopholes in the Act. The first requires any committee formed and operating only within a single state or the District of Columbia, in support of a federal candidate, to make detailed reports of its receipts and expenditures. (Existing law requires such reports only of committees operating in more than one state—a small minority.) The second revision makes the Act applicable to congressional and Presidential primaries as well as to general elections. Republicans in the House are not waiting for the Senate to make a final decision on the Williams amendments; they are pushing hard for their own "Election Reform Act of 1967." This proposal would require reports from any committee receiving or spending more than $1,000 in any calendar year; would extend the ban on contributions by corporations to trade associations and labor organizations, and any organizations or associations financially supported by such groups; would extend the reporting and disclosure provisions to conventions, primaries and party caucuses; would require the disclosure of gifts or honorariums by candidates for Congress as well as incumbents; would limit individual donations to any one candidate or committee in any single year to $5,000; and would remove the present meaningless ceiling on total contributions to, and expenditures by, political committees.

◆ The Associated Press, after prolonged investigation, has calculated that the Federal Government spends $425 million a year on publicity, i.e., public relations programs designed primarily to advertise the virtues of Washington, the benevolence of federal activities, and so on. The AP points out that although the average federal agency is eager to churn out statistics on everything under the sun, one of the rarest bits of information is the actual amount spent by each agency to advertise its own virtues. Mr. Carlton Spitzer, Public Information Director for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, admits to having 892 employees on his PR payroll and spends $7.8 million a year on HEW-puffs. But the champion is the Pentagon, with 3,000 PR coolies and a Madison Avenue budget of $32.3 million. **—CATO**

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advocates and much of the New and Old Left in refusing, or advocating that others refuse, induction. If this claim were admitted, the draft law would at once lose all practical meaning. Anyone could avoid being drafted merely by saying he was against the war that happened to be going on.

Of course Ali and Stokely Carmichael's SNCC followers are *free* to break the draft law; but if they *do* break it, they are liable to the law's penalties—and if the law doesn't visit those penalties on them promptly and condignly, the draft won't work much longer. Dissent that escalates to law-breaking has gone beyond the permissible bounds; it is not *legitimate* dissent.

Let us then be clear in our distinctions: the right to dissent, affirmed in the very opening of our Constitution's Bill of Rights, is *not* a right to break the law. But ambiguity has been lately cultivated even about those forms of dissent—in speech, writing and assembly—that *are* permissible and legitimate. Somehow defense of the right to dissent becomes confused with approval, or at any rate good-natured toleration, of the dissenters and their dissenting opinions. To express strong disagreement with the scurrilous, obscene, and disloyal slogans of the Vietniks, and strong distaste for their appearance, manner and conduct, in public assembly, is condemned as a denial of their right of dissent and an attack on free speech. In a talk May 1 to the new White House Fellows, the President, after affirming in almost too sweeping terms the right to dissent, very sensibly remarked that this must be balanced by a reciprocal right to reply, and cautioned us to "remember that freedom of speech is a two-way street. We must guard every man's right to speak, but we must defend every man's right to answer." →

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He might properly have gone a step further to reassert—in reply to the kinds of vicious dissent with which Ali, Carmichael and their brothers of the New Left and Black Power are assaulting Mr. Johnson himself along with the nation, its soldiers and its loyal citizens—our right to indignation.

Common Market

Connoisseurs of Harold Wilson's shadow-wrestling with the British Labor Party are now applauding his latest and finest political somersault. For the British Prime Minister, once the most skeptical of socialists about the European Common Market, last week finally decided to apply for membership. After five months of elaborate talks with the six nations, he decided that the chances of success were better than even. And for Wilson, the odds always dictate the policy.

Britain refused to join the European club when it was founded in 1958, then was blackballed by de Gaulle in one of his blacker bouts of Anglosaxophobia in 1963, when the Conservatives engaged in over-detailed negotiations led by Edward Heath.

In her lingering economic anemia, Britain appears to the Continent more like an elderly lady in need of companionship than a vigorous potential partner. But five of the six nations will support the British application as far as they can without offending the French.

The practical objections to Britain's entry—the end of tariff privileges for New Zealand butter and lamb, Britain's own farm subsidy set-up, the burdensome duties of sterling as a reserve currency—are now generally admitted to be collapsible hurdles. Wilson's statement to the House of Commons was a virtual promise to sign the Treaty of Rome, if the Six allowed him to.

The British Prime Minister is also doing his best to show Europe that the British have the *political* will to become good Europeans. Wilson once derided the Market as "a rich man's club." He and the Labor Party preferred the mistier prospect of a wider European union, taking in the Communist satellites. But in his speech earlier this year to the Council of Europe at Strasbourg, he talked glowingly of "the defense of freedom" and the "great move forward." Evidence of an almost Pauline conversion to the new ideal.

But Wilson always likes to "keep all the options open," in his own endlessly repeated phrase. No doubt he is reflecting that even if all his efforts fail, he can easily throw off the blame. Once again de Gaulle will be the frog in the woodpile, and the Tory Opposition will be robbed of what used to be its ace of trumps—entry into Europe as a panacea for all Britain's ills from the motor industry to the miniskirt. Wilson will be able to point out that he has already played that card, in vain.

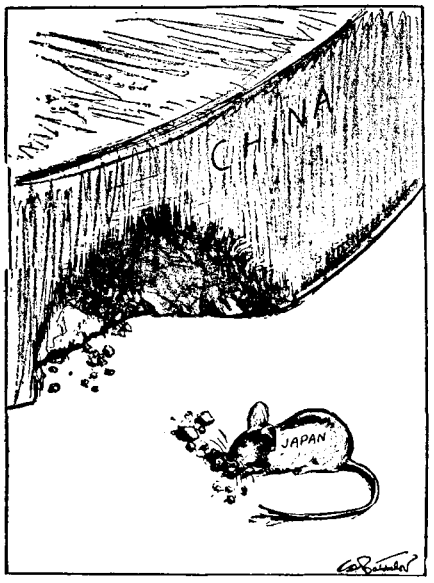
Is there however a chance that de Gaulle will relent this time, that his elephantine mind will make one of those startlingly agile switches? Despite all the whisperings from Paris, the fact is that nobody knows, and that goes even for Prime Minister Pompidou.

BATCHELOR & THE THIRTIES

Storm Warnings in The East

WHY JAPANESE PARITY IS ACTUAL SUPERIORITY

It's a great big piece of cheese but the mouse has a great big appetite.



"Heads, I fortify—Tails, you disarm."

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UN: The Grip Loosens

In a special session that has gone almost unnoticed by the press, the United Nations General Assembly is wrestling in its own peculiar way with the problem of South West Africa—a problem it neatly created for itself last October when it voted to end the mandate under which South Africa has ruled there for 47 years. It now appears likely that a resolution will be sent to the Security Council urging the use of force to establish UN control. That resolution will accomplish nothing. As one of its Afro-Asian supporters warned his colleagues the other day, it will go unenforced—because the United States (joined by Great Britain) has declared that while of course the wicked South Africans must go, force is not the answer.

The American journalist (*Fortune*) and author John Davenport, no uncritical friend of South Africa, lately urged that we "go slow" in southern Africa, noting that Instant Democratization (in Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and South Africa as well as South West Africa) would bring reprises of the old sad show of tribal strife, economic chaos, and military despotisms. We should, he said, "abstain from and if necessary . . . veto those ringing declarations in the UN which embitter our relations in all of southern Africa and which, if ever taken seriously, could lead on to war." It is unlikely, of course, that the UN will ever be taken *that* seriously unless its grip on reality tightens; that it is looser than ever is suggested by U Thant's Summer Spectacular: an "international seminar" in Tanzania this July "to focus world attention on racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa." On the guest list are, inter alia, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jean-Paul Sartre, CORE, SNCC and a bunch of African National Liberation Fronts. They are there to catch a Whitey by the toe.

O Ye of Little Faith

I am not a candidate, and under no circumstances will I run. Gov. Nelson Rockefeller

Dear Governor:
You'll say I'm small,
But I'm a guy who's got the gall
To register a nagging doubt:
Are you *unalterably* out?
I know! I know! You're really *through.*
You're finished playing peekaboo.
You will not run . . . You do not choose . . .
You can't . . . You won't . . . You just *refuse* . . .
There's nothing hiding up your sleeve—
(Why can't I make myself believe?)
I guess I'm just a fuddy-dud,
But would you sign that, please? In blood?

W.H. VON DREELE

Pearson the Conqueror

Mr. Buckley has written (see p. 509) on various aspects of the Dodd case, though it may be that he has failed to stress the most significant, namely the role of Drew Pearson in the whole affair. It is very difficult to overestimate the gentleman's power, which is decocted from pertinacity, odium, specious moralizing, mendacity and lots and lots of readers, even as *Confidential* Magazine has lots and lots of readers and for the same reason. Who will deny that the thought passed through the minds of some of the senators who sat down to judge Senator Dodd that any failure by them to vote censure might be rewarded instantly by torrential abuse from Drew Pearson. And having examined the remains of Senator Dodd under glass, after more than one hundred columns about him by Drew Pearson, it is not just any senator who is willing to disobey the Quaker scavenger whose lies and contumely have been deplored by every American President within living memory.

Mr. Buckley points out that the Committee did absolve Senator Dodd of 90 per cent of the charges leveled against him. He did not analyze one of those that survived, namely the business of seven double airfare billings over a period of seven years. Now if there is a presumption of innocence that figures in the Senate debate, that alone would absolve Senator Dodd of complicity to defraud the government of the few hundred dollars involved. But let us suppose that there is no such presumption at work in a nonjudicial situation. What does common sense compel us to think? If a man is going to cheat by double-billing, *surely* he is going to do this more often than once a year, and for more than a few hundred dollars. To do otherwise is altogether irrational. If a man goes every day to the races, and wins money every day, and his records fail to disclose the money he won on the first of January, but fully disclose the moneys he won on every other day of the year, would we not conclude that on the first of January his bookkeeper had a hangover or whatever and got the figures wrong, rather than that there was a subtle larcenous intelligence at work? And on top of it all, for five of those seven years it was the same Mr. O'Hare who kept the books. And there are records not only that he occasionally billed twice, but that he *paid* twice. If Senator Dodd had been aware of all that was going on in his bookkeeping department, why on earth did he order that some of his bills should be *paid* twice? But put this in the hands

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of Drew Pearson, and before he is through he will have us, and maybe even a few senators, believing that here was high dastardy, shameful, ignominious, punishable by censure, expulsion, eternal humiliation. The pietistic Mr. Pearson must hope, deep in the recesses of his shriveled heart, that there will be no Final Judgment after we are all dead. Imagine the chances he would have of surviving a tribunal one half as censorious as Senator Stennis'. He will have to hope that in the beyond, all is charity, much as he loathes that virtue in this world.

Godzilla's Back in Town

It's George Wallace again, in a return engagement up country, sowing panic in Syracuse, spreading fear in Pittsburgh, striking terror in Terre Haute. Already the very mention of his name singes the grass on the White House lawn. The Democrats are jittery, as well they might be. Republicans are jittery, too, but they don't compete in Democratic primaries and Wallace is, at least until 1968, a Democrat.

That is, he says he is a Democrat but sometimes it seems he is just a man of the people ("the little folks," he calls them), a simple non-office holder from Alabam' plugging along on the third-party route. "I have no illusions about bringing about changes in the national Republican Party or the national Democratic Party," he said in Syracuse. Primaries, he said, were "probably" not for him. Yet earlier in the month he had looked forward to the first Democratic primary of 1968 in New Hampshire, and by the end of the Northern trip he was again plotting his chances in New Hampshire and Nebraska. California looked like a good bet, too.

It is all very scary, and if there are any Democrats who are looking forward to defending Lyndon Johnson in the statewide contests next spring—if only to keep Wallace from locking them out of the national convention—they are controlling themselves remarkably. Nobody knows scare technique better than George Wallace, and you get the feeling sometimes that his zest is nourished by sarcasm, a great political asset. He dotes on indecency, he relishes horror—the better to scare you with, my dears. Birchers? Certainly. Ku Kluxers? Of course. Racists? Anti-Semites? "They have a right to believe that. That's academic freedom in this country." A very dry remark indeed, not so much Grand Ole Opry as Grand Guignol. And we are just getting started.

Budgetary Note

Raymond Saulnier used to be Dwight Eisenhower's chief economic adviser. Now a professor of economics at Barnard, he retains a lively interest in federal operations. In a recent speech he drew attention to a strange disjunction in official economic thought:

"One budget concept seems recently to have been lost in the shuffle . . . it has apparently been abandoned for official use. I refer to the 'full employment surplus concept,' or what came to be known as the 'high-employment budget.' It was prominently set forth in the January 1962 Economic Report and in the 1965 Report was praised as 'a useful measure of the impact of the federal budget on economic activity.' There was not a word about it, however, in the last two Economic Reports. On the contrary, the Administration has now turned to the federal sector of the national income and product accounts as its preferred method of measuring federal impact on the economy.

"I have no wish to comment more than parenthetically on the mysterious disappearance of the 'full employment surplus concept.' But I am constrained to say that if it was dropped because it is giving wrong signals now as to what fiscal policy ought to be, or gave wrong signals in the past, then the public deserves an explanation of what is officially thought to be wrong with this previously much-admired concept. It never seemed to me to be a good one, and I have publicly presented my objections to it, but it was, after all, the intellectual foundation of fiscal policy in recent years. Moreover, it was used extensively by officers of government since 1960 to disparage the fiscal policies of the 1950s. Remembering this, some explanation is called for if the concept is now being cast aside as somehow seriously deficient. At least, it deserves an obituary notice."

Counter-Punch

It took the Communists and their allies among the pacifists, the new leftists, the old Ban-the-Bomb crowd, six months to organize their Spring Mobilization the week of April 8-15. Now a pasted-together group that calls itself the "Support Our Boys in Vietnam Parade Committee" is organizing a counter march in New York City on Saturday, May 13. The Support Our Boys Committee has no formal organization, no vehicle through which to instruct the faithful, no *Worker, National Guardian, ADA World* etc., no mailing lists, no prestigious sponsors. It's operating out of a rented room in the Commodore Hotel with the help of volunteers, veterans, members of the VFW, the Legion and YAF, with the parents, relatives and friends of Vietnam servicemen. Its purpose, says Parade Chairman Raymond Gimmler, is "to support our armed forces who are carrying out the struggle for their country, the United States. It op-

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poses attacks on our nation, and the impression given the world of a people who oppose their own country. Above all, it is striving to assure our fighting men in Vietnam that they have the full respect, love and prayers of the American people."

Anyone who wants to help—who can turn out a high school band, stuff envelopes, answer phone calls, paint a poster, or march—is invited to join. The Parade will step off at noon from 95th Street and Fifth Avenue. Call Murray Hill 6-6000 (ext. 374).

On the Right

Senator Dodd's Censure

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

One wonders why the Senate committee took so long in coming to its conclusions on the Dodd case. Read the entire report, and you will find nothing there you did not already know, nothing that was not fully and freely admitted by Senator Dodd all along the line. There is, to be sure, the notation that Senator Dodd and his larcenous bookkeeper disagreed on one particular, and yes there is the paragraph, almost entirely unnoticed, to the effect that others of the charges leveled against Senator Dodd were found to be insubstantial. All those dreary columns by Mr. Drew Pearson about General Klein, and the West German government and silverware and carpets and Persian rugs and whatnot were apparently investigated and found to be as phony as the rantings of the village gossip, whence they had after all emanated.

Buckley

The committee then proceeded to hang Senator Dodd—and one should be very clear about this—because the literature inviting citizens of Connecticut to testimonial dinners did not specify that the proceeds of those dinners would be made available to Senator Dodd to spend as he saw fit. This is the gravamen of the report. The two other charges are frivolous: seven incidents of double billing over a period of seven years, and without a scintilla of evidence that that double billing was ordered by Dodd, indeed that he so much as knew of its existence. And the improvident use by Senator Dodd of an old friend's extra automobile, as if that were something with which to catch the conscience of the king.

It is those political funds he used for his own account that did it, and the Senate, before voting censure, is certainly entitled to a more reasoned account of the committee's moral biography. Are we to understand that the crucial consideration was that the Dodd people failed to print on the tickets or on the programs: "The subscribers to this function understand that the proceeds are available to Senator Thomas Dodd to use as he sees fit, whether to pay newspapers and television stations to carry his message to his constituents, or to pay his golf club to carry dry martinis to his constituents, or to pay his contractor to fix the leak on the roof to keep the rain from falling on the constituents' Washington representative's head."

Why Hang Dodd?

Senator Dodd's staff had no difficulty at all in coming up with hundreds of affidavits from people who attended his dinners, testifying that they had no objection whatever to any use Senator Dodd made of the dinners' proceeds. It is in the nature of most testimonial dinners that you do not rub into the nose of the beneficiary the mendicancy of his presence there. How far should full disclosure go? Would it have been proper, in introducing Vice President Humphrey at the fourth Dodd affair, to say: "Ladies and gentlemen, the Vice President of the United States. He had better be good, because we had to pay seventy-five hundred clams over to the Democratic National Committee to get him here"?

If there are laws that prescribe full disclosure at such ambiguous benefits as Senator Dodd attended, let them be cited. If there are no such laws, let them be written. But why in the meantime hang Dodd?

Why? Because of Adam Clayton Powell Jr., if you want a political answer. In order to make an effort of sorts to prove that justice is impartial, summary and integrated. The clamor was incessant: Powell and Dodd, Powell and Dodd, Powell and Dodd—they became as inseparably linked in the public mind as Abbott and Costello. Add to the difficulty Senator Dodd's wholly ineffective defense strategy. It was no doubt dictated by the tradition of a lawyer's respect for the court. It was wholly and disastrously ineffective.

There remains the debate in the Senate, at which Senator Dodd will have a final opportunity to raise points in his own defense. Whatever happens there, there remains also the question of what to do about the four sneakthieves who decided, after being caught by the Senator playing musical beds, that their love of country required them to bed down with Drew Pearson. Already they are being apotheosized, e.g., by the *New York Times*, which in the fatuity of the year remarks that the sneakthieves "deserve approbation" because after all they "acted in no hope of private gain" (neither did Lee Harvey Oswald). There is going to be a lot of bitterness in the air over this one, and I for one announce the beginning of a long period of bitterness against the phony moralizers who conspired against a brave and simple man of distinguished public record, and against the tribunal which found him guilty by bill of attainder.

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The Third World War

JAMES BURNHAM

Can Democracy Work?

So a democratic government has once more cracked up in the motherland of democracy. Actually, the democracy of ancient Attica would never have passed muster at the UN Assembly or the Warren Court. "Tribal oligarchy" would be a more accurate term. Only enrolled male adult members of the tribes of the official list took part in political life; "foreigners" (i.e., non-members) and slaves, together a majority, were excluded. Even this some-men one-vote system prevailed only a few decades. Since the surrender of Athens at the close of the Peloponnesian Wars 2,371 years ago, democracy has had hard sledding in Greece.

Burnham

Greece is not alone in Europe in having trouble with democracy. In fact, only a minority of European states have democratic governments; the nine nations of eastern Europe plus Yugoslavia, Albania, Portugal, Spain and East Germany do not. No more than three or four nations (India, Japan, Philippines . . .) can qualify in Asia; none, really, in Africa. Hardly any Latin American nations can manage more than a few years without a coup.

The belief that democracy is the best form of government is an axiom of the American faith; and it is an axiom of American policy to seek to promote democracy everywhere. Truly, we are not very democratic, about democracy. We tell all peoples they ought to be democratic and try to make them become democratic, without much regard to their own ideas and wishes. May it not be that through this bias we occasionally impose an unsuitable and sometimes crippling burden?

The record, present and past, does not seem to recommend democracy as a universally appropriate and workable form of government. Gaetano Mosca, observing that autocracy —in which "authority is transmitted from above downward in the political and social scale"—has in fact been the dominant form of political organization, commented: "A political system [autocracy] that has been so widely recurring and so long enduring among peoples of the most widely various civilizations, who often have had no contacts material or intellectual with one another, must correspond to something in the political nature of man."

Nature and Utopia

We define as "democratic" a government based on "the voluntary consent of the governed." In practice we interpret "voluntary consent" to mean that, a) the ruling offices are submitted periodically to a secret ballot of a fairly large percentage of the adult population; b) the citizens are free to oppose the incumbent rulers and policies; c) the mechanism of the ballot offers a choice between incumbents and the opposition.

Philosophical considerations aside, this democratic formula has seemed to have the great practical advantage of providing a peaceful and relatively orderly outlet for the discontent and opposition that inevitably arise within every society.

Political scientists recognize that there are cultural and economic preconditions of genuine democratic government: a minimum of literacy, somewhat more than bare subsistence economically, a functioning system of internal communications and transport, etc. Still more crucial is a general acceptance of the rules of the democratic game: that the rulers will allow the opposition a voice and a chance to win by the ballot; that the present rulers will give way peacefully if the opposition *does* win; and—no less essential though less often remarked—that the Outs will not push their opposition struggle to a level that subverts the democratic political order itself. As in the case of any other game, you can play democracy only with those who are willing to abide by the rules.

Against the Rules

Few serious persons were surprised that most of the new underdeveloped nations and pseudo-nations couldn't fulfill the democratic constitutions drawn up by graduates of Harvard and the London School of Economics. They lacked the preconditions—the "infrastructure." But events of recent years raise the question whether there may not also be factors within the older technologized nations of our mass society that are incompatible with genuine democracy—whether, even, complete literacy and advanced technology may not be as dangerous to democracy as illiteracy and subsistence economics.

Under pressures that build up within technologized mass societies, the democratic rules break down. The opposition throws the rule book away, links up with elements seeking the subversion, defeat or overthrow of the existing order, and espouses ideals contrary to the essential moderation implicit in the democratic rules. The defenders of the existing order (whether in or out of office) feel themselves forced to strike back, also by methods outside the rules. Thus today in Greece; and also in France, where de Gaulle, confronting an opposition inclusive of the powerful and "separatist" Communist Party, demands six months of "emergency" (i.e., nondemocratic) government.

In this country we, too, witness the development of an opposition that does not accept the rules. To shout down the speaker when you disagree, to walk out of an assembly instead of discussing, to summon to lawbreaking and violence, to solidarize with the enemy-in-arms, to vilify the lawful magistrates with obscenities and monstrous lies: these are the tactics not of democratic-minded citizens debating together but of the enemies of democracy—the tactics, exactly, by which brown and red hooligans have in our century proved their ability to bring democratic government down in ruins.

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- ☐ MAN IN THE SERVICE
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RHODESIA: A Case History

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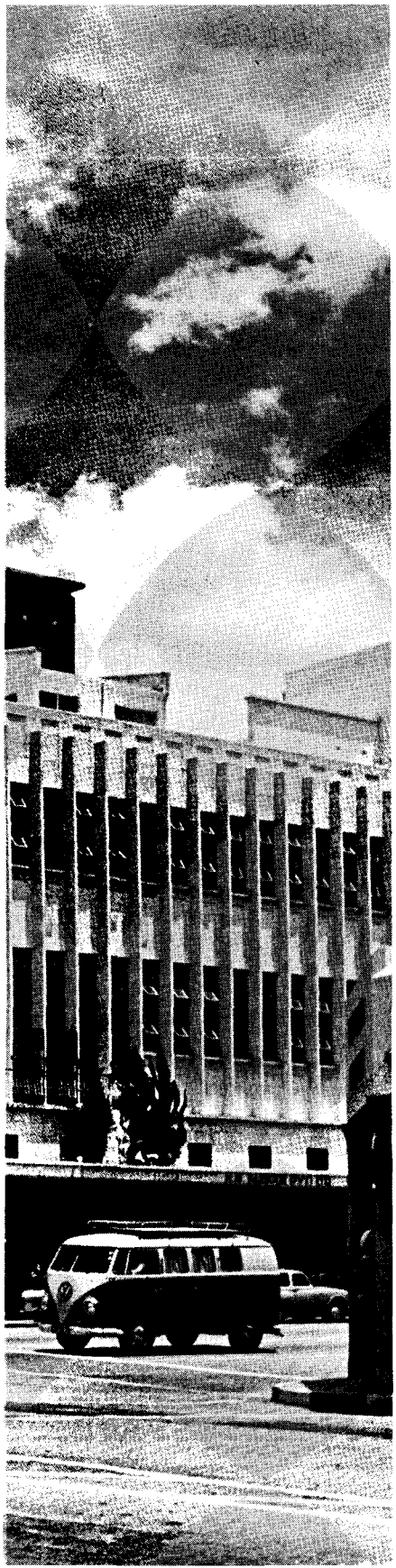
James Jackson Kilpatrick
Rene Albert Wormser
Walter Darnell Jacobs



PREFACE

On November 11, 1965, following a long period of unsuccessful talks with Whitehall, Rhodesia unilaterally proclaimed her independence from the British Crown. On the following day, at the request of the United Kingdom, the United Nations Security Council condemned Rhodesia's action and called upon all states not to recognize the regime of Prime Minister Ian Smith and to refrain from rendering assistance to it. Shortly thereafter, on November 20, the United Nations through Resolution No. 217 invoked voluntary economic sanctions against Rhodesia.

These voluntary sanctions remained in effect throughout 1966. Beyond question, they served severely to depress Rhodesia's export trade; equally beyond question, they failed in the announced purpose of bringing the Smith regime to its knees.

During the summer and fall of 1966, negotiations were renewed between Whitehall and the Rhodesian regime. These conversations, conducted both in London and in Salisbury, led in early December to a confrontation aboard H.M.S. Tiger *between Britain's Prime Minister Harold Wilson and Rhodesia's Prime Minister Ian Smith. Out of their discussions emerged the draft of a proposal by which Rhodesia temporarily would suspend her independence while certain constitutional changes were submitted to her people. The British government accepted this draft proposal; the Rhodesian government rejected it.*

On December 16, 1966, after a week's debate, the UN Security Council adopted a resolution imposing mandatory sanctions upon key Rhodesian exports and prohibiting the importation of oil, ammunition, aircraft, and motor vehicles. In its final provision, the Council's resolution requested a report from the Secretary General by March 1, 1967 indicating the actions taken by member states in support of the resolution. Late in February, U Thant responded to this requirement with a report detailing the actions of 72 states in response to the mandatory sanctions.

It was against this background and chronology that the American-African Affairs Association arranged to send a team of three observers to Rhodesia in February of 1967. Their assignment was to make an objective assessment of the Rhodesian situation. Toward this end, they undertook not only to interview Mr. Smith, his ministers, and some of his supporters in private and public life, but also to interview persons in the Opposition, members of the press, and others in a position to assist in an independent investigation. Through informal conversations at the British Foreign Office in London, some of the views and supporting documents of Her Majesty's Government were obtained.

Members of the reporting team included Rene Wormser, a distinguished member of the New York bar; Walter Darnell Jacobs, professor of political science at the University of Maryland; and James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the Richmond News Leader. *It is their personal report, reflecting their collective observations and conclusions, which follows.*

THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, making his first trip to Africa, typically does some homework in advance. He fetches a contemporary atlas; he plunges into books on Africa yesterday and Africa today; he reads through a small mountain of periodicals. And if his special interest lies in the Rhodesian situation, he digests an impressive tonnage of pamphlets, speeches, statements and the like, provided by an efficient Rhodesian Information Service that is eager to tell Rhodesia's story to the world.

Yet none of this prepares him adequately for the underlying problems, the contrasts, the people, and the potential of Rhodesia today. This is an exciting country; and its most exciting aspect lies in the promise that

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Rhodesian Potpourri: (1) Mrs. Elias Moyo crochets doilies for sale to tourists in Bulawayo's famed "Flower Lane"; (2) Many Rhodesians of African descent still cling to the countryside in old-style Kraals; (3) The Ilanda Women's Residence of Teachers College, Bulawayo (founded 1956); (4) A tobacco farmer inspects his livelihood. Because of British and UN sanctions, the fate of Rhodesia's tobacco industry is uncertain; (5) Silas Ndlovu teaches young trainees in the Post Office Training School, Salisbury.

Rhodesia's policies hold for the future of white man and black man alike—an evolving multiracial society in which both races increasingly will share in the political, economic and social development of their pioneer land. It is a great pity—and for those whose chief interest lies in the black African's advancement, a great irony—that this high promise should be clouded by the harsh and punitive measures that have been imposed upon Rhodesia. She deserves much better from her fellows in a changing and imperfect community of nations.

This report is written toward the end of winter in the United States. It coincides with the end of summer in Rhodesia. In the parks of Salisbury, the flamboyant trees are almost finished for the season; their red blossoms fade to a dark orange. But this lovely capital city is still a mass of color—zinnias, marigolds, petunias—and the autumn will continue the year-round parade of flowering trees and shrubs. Soon the tulip trees will flower, then poinsettias, bougainvillea, the scarlet bauhinia, the blue and mauve jacaranda. In Cecil Square and in the public gardens of Salisbury, African and European alike will share the beauty of an astonishingly peaceful land.

That is the first of the astonishments of Rhodesia: its tranquility. By formal declaration of the United Nations, "the present situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security." But what is the present situation in Southern Rhodesia? The present situation is one of utter calm.

During the whole of our visit to Rhodesia, we never heard a siren; we seldom saw even a traffic officer; we never noticed so much as a sidearm. The only troops in evidence are a handful of smiling Africans in khaki shirts, shorts and rolled Aussie hats, performing guard and messenger duties at public buildings. On the streets, white and black mingle with every appearance of courtesy and good humor. In the handsome Queen Victoria Memorial Library, young Africans crowd the reading rooms.

As a general proposition, housing is segregated in the cities of Rhodesia (as it is segregated in every city within the United States), but there are neighborhoods which are equally available to white and black buyers. The old rigid patterns are slowly fading. The university in Salisbury is fully integrated (300 of its 847 students are Africans). Many theaters, restaurants, cocktail lounges are open to any customer with the price of a ticket, a meal, a drink. The perceptive American visitor, familiar with the uneasy vibrations of our own urban life, knows that racial tensions can be sensed; but he senses none of these tensions here.

The quietude of such cities as Salisbury and Bulawayo finds its parallel in the tough and untamed country beyond the city limits. In the months immediately preceding and following Rhodesia's declaration of independence, black terrorists sought to impose a reign of fire and violence upon some of the African villages; but with the help of the villagers themselves, these terrorists were ruthlessly suppressed. Much of the country remains incredibly primitive, but it is peacefully primitive. One assumes that Rhodesia's small and efficient army maintains routine surveillance of her borders, but in the seventeen months that have elapsed since independence, the number of "border incidents" has been virtually nil. Though Rhodesia's relations with Zambia understandably have cooled, these two presumptively hostile nations have maintained a number of economic ties: air travel flows back and forth; electric power continues without interruption; Zambia's faltering railroad system until recently was dependent upon repair facilities in Bulawayo, and thousands of Zambian workers gain their livelihood within Rhodesia. In recent months, despite the economic sanctions, Rhodesia's relationships with Malawi have seemed to improve. Her relations with neighboring South Africa and Mozambique are entirely cordial. One is compelled to ask in mystification: *Upon what evidence can Rhodesia possibly be adjudged a threat to international peace?*

But it is not merely the atmosphere of a peaceful law and order that astounds the visitor fresh from Washington or New York. It is equally the contrast among the people themselves. In the United States, as in England and France and even within the Soviet Union, the people live at roughly the same point in time and social development. The dusty roads of Alabama, to be sure, are far removed from Madison Avenue; by the ordinary yardsticks of civilization, Appalachia lags well behind Westchester County. Yet the most disadvantaged American Negro shares with his white fellow citizen a common language, both written and spoken; he shares in general traditions of law, religion, community organization.

None of this is true in Rhodesia. This is a young country, still emerging from the primitive past. Countless Rhodesians, both black and white, retain vivid personal memories of the barbaric wars between Matabele and Mashona. These were not so long ago. As recently as 1939, a large percentage of the Africans wore little but loincloths. Some 2.5 million of them still dwell within tribal territories. Literacy is improving at a remarkable pace, but thousands of the natives speak only a tribal dialect and have no written language at all. By the same token, housing improves,

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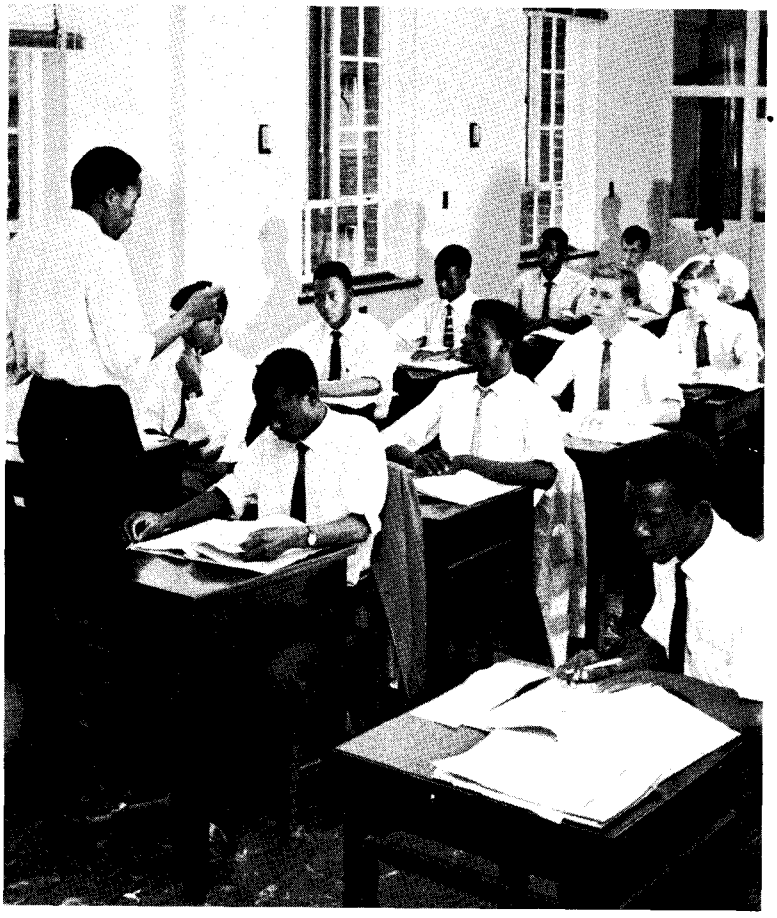

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and farming techniques improve, and communications improve, but vast areas of Rhodesia still exist in terms of the mud hut, the cattle kraal, and the spread of news by word of mouth from village to village. Until a few years ago, witchcraft and primitive superstition prevailed widely; these practices continue to flourish in some areas. A handful of bones, cast by night upon the floor of a native hut, still will evoke an unimaginable terror. In an address in Salisbury's Anglican Cathedral last December, the Very Reverend G.S.H. Worsley, Dean of Gibraltar, remarked that many persons who sit in Whitehall tend to think of Africa as if it were the Isle of Wight. Similarly, many Americans tend to equate the Rhodesian bush country with the Mississippi delta. But the overwhelming majority of these African people scarcely are in the same millennium, let alone the same century, with the white Rhodesians whose industry, capital and know-how have moved the country forward.

Rhodesia's greatest internal problem today—and it is a problem of formidable dimensions, defying pat and easy solutions—is to close this immense gap between the society of the mud hut and the sophistication of a Salisbury board room. An increasing number of Africans, advancing swiftly into twentieth-century civilization, are impatient with the tribal system; they occupy an ill-defined middle area. In theory, opportunities for business and professional advancement are available in Rhodesia without regard to race, but in practice, discrimination operates here as it operates throughout the United States. Even so, specific examples abound of Africans who have successfully breached the immemorial barriers, and made substantial fortunes in farming and in business. The road to a prosperous and enlightened multiracial society is under construction, but it remains a crude road, rough and narrow, hard for the ambitious African to traverse. The important point to keep in mind, however, is that Rhodesia's road to multiracial development is being built largely through the labors of 200,000 white persons in the midst of four million blacks. It is a road that ought to be compared with other such roads in other emerging African nations. And if it is not yet a four-lane superhighway, who in the affluent, white, civilized and democratic United States, 360 years after Jamestown, can validly criticize Rhodesia's record in this regard? By what rights of divine ordination is it supposed that Western nations have a duty to impose their own political and social institutions by fiat upon a people still blinking from the darkness of the cave?

II

TURNING NOW to more topical aspects of the Rhodesian situation, we would venture certain observations on particular political, economic, and social conditions in Rhodesia today.

By every indication, the white community remains overwhelmingly in support of the government of Prime Minister Ian Smith. There was much opposition, especially among businessmen, to the independence declaration of November 11, 1965. It was felt that Rhodesia was prospering handsomely under her loose ties with Britain; independence could bring nothing but trouble. Much opposition also arose early in December of 1966, when the Smith government rejected the terms of the proposed agreement forged aboard H.M.S. *Tiger*. Yet this opposition, while eloquent and well-reasoned, represents a minority view. Mr. Smith himself is a beloved figure—a strong man with a gentle air. One ironic though predictable effect of the mandatory sanctions has been to draw the European community more tightly together in the face of common disaster. The sanctions also have had the effect of playing into the hands of elements within the Rhodesian Front who tend both to support apartheid and to seek a total break with the Commonwealth.

Smith's government also finds a substantial and still influential element of support among the Council of Chiefs. In January of 1967, following the collapse of the *Tiger* talks and the imposition of sanctions, the Council sent to Smith an expression of "deep satisfaction" with the positions he had taken. They promised to stand "firm like a rock" in his support, and pledged their cooperation in "working toward a constitutional system which would represent all the people of Rhodesia, black and white." It is true that Rhodesia's critics tend to denigrate the role of the tribal chiefs, and to regard these African elders as puppets or Uncle Toms. Such an attitude reflects little but ignorance of tribal life as it still is lived in Rhodesia today. The chiefs are leaders of very considerable power. In other times and circumstances, Great Britain herself has recognized the important role of the chiefs. Their public support of Prime Minister Smith ought not to be minimized.

This is not to suggest that a lively and articulate opposition to the Smith regime does not exist among large elements of the African population in Rhodesia. This opposition most certainly obtains. In its most civilized form, it may be seen among the thirteen African members of the Parliament; they wage a vigorous and continuing criticism of government measures. Our mission met and talked at length with P.H. M'kudu, J.M. Behane, and J. M. Gondo, all of the United Peoples Party. They spoke clearly and emphatically of their desire to speed up the dissolution of the tribal system, to weld all educational efforts into a single administrative unit, to abolish the segregation that remains in some hotels and places of public accommodation. They are impatient with what they regard as the needlessly slow pace of the African's advancement into government positions and into managerial levels of Rhodesian commerce. Yet it is significant that not one of these African spokesmen advocates the immediate extension of "one-man one-vote." They do not urge the integration of elementary and secondary classrooms. They take a realistic view of the evolutionary process; and while they were strongly opposed to UDI (the Unilateral Declaration of Independence of 1965) under the Smith regime, their principal grievance rests in their conviction that the evolutionary process could be moved along a little faster.

It probably should be noted for the record, in any discussion of the political situation, that voting in Rhodesia is conducted according to an "A" roll and a "B" roll. The "A" roll registration, by American standards, is quite modest. The "B" roll includes those of somewhat lesser education or prop-

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erty ownership. At the end of 1966, the "A" roll numbered approximately 100,000, including 95,700 whites, 2,400 Africans, and about 3,000 others. The "B" roll numbered some 11,700, of whom 10,780 were Africans and 589 were whites. Nothing whatever prevents Africans from gaining access to the "A" roll. At least 60,000 are thought to be qualified by education or property ownership for "A" registration now. It is only apathy or disinterest in politics that keeps them from the polls.

A full appraisal of the political situation, and especially of the opposition to the Smith government, is handicapped by the press censorship which still obtains in Rhodesia. The *Rhodesian Herald,* published in Salisbury, carries on its front page a daily reminder: "All material published in this newspaper is subject to government censorship." Mr. J. H. Howman, Minister of Information, sought to justify this suppression by explaining that all of the influential newspapers in Rhodesia are published under a single ownership which traces corporately to British control; they are edited by men strongly opposed to policies of the Smith regime. While these editors are agreeable to withholding publication of certain economic news, calculated to disclose damaging information on the effect of sanctions in an economic war, they are unwilling to give affirmative support to the government's principal policies of independence. It would be intolerable, in Mr. Howman's view, to have the papers daily undermining public morale and seeking the government's defeat; if other sources of opinion existed, favorable to the government, it would be a different matter. Meanwhile, censorship operates with a light hand; it has been months since anything of significance was deleted from the *Herald* or the Sunday *Mail.* And while a few vicious foreign correspondents—mere snoopers—have had to be expelled, it is the administration's earnest hope that the worst rigors of censorship are past. If the editors of the *Herald* would only be a little more cooperative, it feels, the whole unpleasant business could be brought to an end.

We were not overly impressed by Mr. Howman's defense. In view of the general tranquility that obtains in Rhodesia, and considering Prime Minister Smith's manifest hold upon the great majority of Europeans, we find it difficult to understand why the censorship of political opinion (as distinguished from the censorship of economic data during an economic war) should be continued seventeen months after UDI. Some aspects of the censorship system, in actual operation, struck us as patently absurd. The press is prohibited from publishing accounts of certain critical speeches delivered in the Parliament itself. So grotesque an imposition reflects poorly upon the strength of the Smith government, and seems rather an ominous suggestion of its weakness.

IN ALL FAIRNESS, however, it must be said that Rhodesia is in a situation of "emergency," in which there is justification for variances from peaceful procedure. Our own suggestion is that the censorship of political opinion should cease but, in its place, the government should be given "equal time"—i.e., an opportunity to present its case—whenever it is attacked in the press. Incidentally, Rhodesia is not alone in exercising censorship. We understand that even so enlightened a country as Israel (so it was reported in the *New York Times* of March 9, 1967) applies censorship.

Another questionable aspect of the present situation in Rhodesia are detentions under the Emergency Powers Act, and restrictions under the Law and Order Maintenance Act.

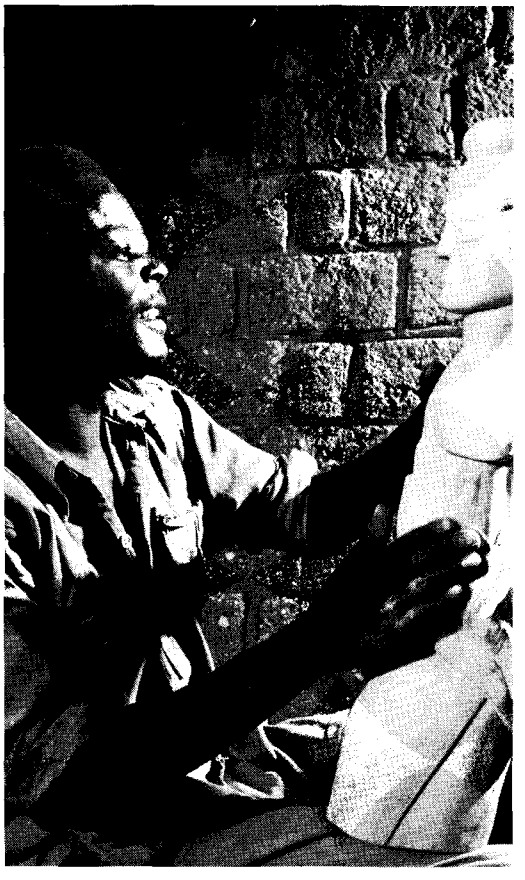
Americans have been much troubled by reports of the detention, restriction, and in some few cases the expulsion of persons identified in the West as "political prisoners" or as "political foes of the Smith regime." Our mission inquired searchingly into the situation. This is the Rhodesian view:

Rhodesia's laws governing detention and restriction are by no means unique. Every African nation has them in some form. The necessity for them was expressed by Kenya's Minister of Home Affairs in a statement last October justifying his refusal to try or to release eight members of the Opposition who had been arrested: "Any government worth its salt must put the preservation of public security above the convenience of a handful of persons who are doing their utmost to undermine it."

Rhodesia has not gone so far as to detain or to restrict members of the opposition United Peoples Party. Indeed, we were told, Rhodesia has not acted against any person for wholly political reasons. Those who have been arrested are thugs, arsonists, saboteurs and terrorists. Many undoubtedly have been Communist-influenced or -trained and even -financed. Almost all of them have been black Africans, preying upon other black Africans. The victims and those endangered by terrorist activity seek and solicit government protection, yet are too terrified of reprisal to be willing to testify in court. Thus, for the protection of the black Africans themselves, it has been necessary for the government to take drastic action.

Two laws have been put into use. The first of these is the Law and Order Maintenance Act, passed in 1962 under the Whitehead government and extended in August 1966 for an additional two years. During 1966, the number of persons indefinitely

Bernard Manyandure, a self-taught sculptor, admires a wood carving. His work has been exhibited in the Rhodes National Gallery, Salisbury, and in England.



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restricted under this act ranged from 306 to 444 at any one time. Three restriction camps are in operation, at Sengwe, Sikombela and Wha Wha; the last of these is used almost exclusively for "soft-core" restrictees who are regarded as most likely to respond to rehabilitation. The second of the two laws is the Emergency Powers Act of 1965, which permits the renewable three-month detention of persons found to be terrorists or collaborators. During 1966, the number of persons detained under this act ranged from 52 to 159 at any one time.

IT IS TRUE that Western rules of due process of law are not applied in the administration of either act. No writs of habeas corpus are available to those restricted or detained. They are not accorded jury trials, rights of counsel, rights of confrontation, or other protections cherished by Americans and Britons. It is regrettable that this should be true. When public safety permits, we were told, the system will be suspended. Meanwhile, the two acts have served so effectively that terrorism, a serious problem late in 1965 and during part of 1966, has almost ceased. Acts of crop-slashing, maiming and poisoning of stock, and the burning of villages now are seldom reported. Public order is being maintained. The traveler has no feeling of unrest or of heavy-handed repression.

These explanations and justifications by the Smith government impressed our mission as both persuasive and convincing. Under existing conditions in Africa, only the misguided idealist would expect a perfect adherence to rules of due process of law. In many Western countries, habeas corpus or its equivalent has been suspended during an emergency. Rhodesia's course of conduct ought to be judged in this light. At the same time, it was our strong feeling that within the context of Rhodesia's necessity, certain judicial forms and safeguards might yet be devised that would tend to put the administration of these laws in a better light. As we understand it, the orders of the Minister of Law and Order, based upon *ex parte* proceedings and ordinarily conducted without even an oral examination of the defendant, are effectively nonreviewable. It would appear that the purposes of detention and restriction could be equally well served if the suspect were notified of the charges against him, given some rights of counsel, and assured that some established court would review the sentence imposed upon him. Such an arrangement would not require the rigid safeguards that now are guaranteed American defendants under the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Eighth Amendments of our Constitution, but it would serve to ameliorate some of the criticism now directed toward Rhodesia and yet not endanger Rhodesia's internal security.

In a nation of more than 4 million persons, however, it seems evident that the laws on detention and restriction have not been grossly abused. The number of persons affected is relatively small. The principal African extremists, including such black nationalist leaders as Joshua Nkomo and the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, are under restriction. George Nyandoro, James Chikerema, and Herbert Chitepa are free to foment trouble from Lusaka in Zambia. Nathan Shamuyarira was last heard from in Princeton, N.J. These militants represent a continuing threat to internal order within Rhodesia, especially in combination with the violent exhortations of Radio Zambia, but the problems of terrorism and subversion appear to be well under control.

Other criminal activity in Rhodesia seems equally well in hand. Americans who are familiar with crime rates in the United States, with our high levels of civilization, education, and ancient tradition of law and order, may feel a sense of shame in proposing that our standards of morality and virtue be imposed upon Rhodesia. In 1966, this nation of 4 million largely primitive blacks and 200,000 Europeans reported precisely 156 murders, 195 housebreakings, and 143 other thefts. Only 1,086 crimes were reported in all.

These various notes and observations, coupled with the impressions of our own eyes as we traveled freely throughout Rhodesia, led our mission inescapably to the conclusion expressed at the beginning of this section: talk of white Rhodesia's "oppression" or "exploitation" of the African is nonsense.

We do not mean by this to express blanket approval of everything we observed in Rhodesia today. While we understand that the sanctions are bound to have some depressing effect upon the Rhodesian economy, and that any government's expenditures in time of war—even economic war—cannot be channeled entirely toward a Great Society, it seemed to us considerably more might be done toward secondary education among the Africans. We are concerned that present trends in multiracial employment are moving so slowly that the African's opportunities to accumulate capital are excessively restricted. We confess an uneasy impression that some gentlemen who denied apartheid with their lips were inclining toward it in their hearts, though we impute no insincerity whatever to Mr. Smith himself. We also express some reservation toward the pervasive paternalism that looks after the African's education, housing, medical care, recreation, and leaves him relatively small areas of personal responsibility. And as we have said, while we understand the unavoidable necessity for the programs of restriction and detention, it still seems to us that additional legal safeguards could be instituted without serious risk to public security.

THESE RESERVATIONS to one side, we found throughout Rhodesia every evidence of an amazingly cordial relationship between the races. Especially in rural areas, where white farmers are struggling dramatically to teach modern techniques to their African neighbors, a spirit of good will is apparent. Both the Rhodesian government and these enlightened white farmers are teaching Africans to farm not merely for immediate subsistence (which was the tribal system) but to produce cash crops through which they can accumulate capital. This work is accelerating, as Africans see the contrast between a field of corn grown by their old methods and one produced under white tutelage. The African is learning, evolving, pushing forward toward his own place in the Rhodesian sun. Without the experience, the capital, the imagination, and the executive know-how of the white Rhodesian, this progress would be utterly reversed. It is toward this destructive end that Britain and the United Na-

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tions, in the premature and fetishistic name of "one-man one-vote," have dedicated their course of action.

III

With the proclamation of independence of November 11, 1965, the United Kingdom at once severed its trade relations with Rhodesia. Credits and assets were frozen; contracts were canceled; even the payment of claims upon life insurance policies, held by Rhodesian residents with London companies, was prohibited. Britain appealed to the United Nations for cooperation in the imposition of voluntary sanctions upon critical Rhodesian exports and imports. By resolutions of November 12 and November 20, 1965, and of April 9, 1966, the UN Security Council endorsed the British appeal.

On December 16, 1966, upon the motion of the United Kingdom, the Security Council invoked mandatory sanctions. The Security Council's action required all member states to prevent "the import into their territories of asbestos, iron ore, chrome, pig-iron, sugar, tobacco, copper, meat and meat products and hides, skins and leather originating in Southern Rhodesia and exported therefrom." The resolution prohibited the member states from participating in any way "in the supply of oil or oil products to Southern Rhodesia." It banned all activities "calculated to promote the supply to Southern Rhodesia of aircraft and motor vehicles, and of equipment and materials for the manufacture, assembly, or maintenance of aircraft and motor vehicles in Southern Rhodesia." The resolution also called upon all states "not to render financial or other economic aid to the illegal racist regime in Southern Rhodesia."

Certain aspects of the Security Council's resolution, having to do with its validity under the Charter, will be discussed at a later point in this report. Here we offer our comments only upon the effect of these sanctions upon the economic life of Rhodesia. It perhaps should be emphasized that our observations are based entirely upon informal impressions and conversations and in no sense reflect any official economic statistics from the Rhodesian government. No such statistics are publicly available.

Plainly, the consequences of the UN sanctions have been serious to Rhodesia in several areas of major economic importance. The chief among these is Rhodesia's tobacco export trade, which had a value in 1965 of £47 million—about 28 per cent of all exports in that year. The Rhodesian government was compelled to enter the 1966 market and buy up most of the crop for private resale; the same costly procedure is to be followed for the 1967 crop. No one doubts that the impact upon growers is severe.

Other principal exports in 1965, the last year for which figures are published, included asbestos fiber, refined and unwrought copper, meat products, chrome ore, raw sugar and pig iron. All these have suffered to some extent. Rhodesia's most important customer in 1965 was Zambia, which had purchases of £36.1 million, compared with £26.2 million in trade with the United Kingdom. West Germany, Malawi and Japan also were important purchasers of Rhodesian exports. Publicly, at least, these trade outlets have been closed.

The Rhodesian labor force in 1965 numbered approximately 718,000, of whom 629,000 were Africans. Prior to UDI, there was virtually no unemployment; most industries in fact reported a labor shortage. With the imposition of sanctions, some spotty unemployment evidently has developed. Early in 1967, a Ford assembly plant just outside of Salisbury, employing an estimated 60 Europeans and 450 Africans, was compelled to suspend operations for want of parts. A somewhat smaller British Motor Corporation plant also has stopped making cars. Certain mining operations, notably in chrome, have been curtailed. Inevitably (because they comprise 88 per cent of the labor force), the Africans have experienced the greatest hardship, including workers from Zambia and Malawi.

These adverse consequences, however, have been cushioned or offset by a number of internal adjustments over the past seventeen months. The acreage planted to sugar has been substantially reduced; in some instances, wheat is taking its place—and wheat is needed for domestic consumption. In a remarkable display of both ingenuity and determination, many Rhodesian manufacturers have learned to convert or to diversify. In the past, such major appliances as home freezers and refrigerators were largely imported; now these are being made domestically. Rhodesia's small but flourishing electronics industry has been expanded. The government has instituted new tariff policies intended to promote and to protect domestic manufacturers. Persons employed in some curtailed mining activities are shifting to gold mining.

As a result of these various steps, employment levels within the European community in 1966 just about matched those of 1965. There was a reported increase of some 2,500 in the monthly average of African employees. The consumer price index increased in 1966 by only 2.5 per cent, compared to 3.7 per cent in Britain, 4.3 in South Africa, and 5.9 in Zambia. A few basic foodstuffs are under price control, and gasoline is rationed, but Rhodesia has experienced a bumper crop year in 1966-67 and supplies of petroleum are so abundant that few serious inconveniences have resulted.

THESE DRY STATISTICS tell little of the spirit with which Rhodesia has reacted to her time of adversity. Beyond question, one effect of the sanctions has been to draw the total community more closely together. Rhodesians, black and white, are all in the same uncomfortable boat; but at least as this is written, they are finding the experience more exhilarating than depressing. Along Salisbury's industrial Lytton Road, the factories are humming. Stores are well filled with customers. In one fashion or another, goods are moving—and there is little doubt that despite the UN sanctions, they are moving to world markets in substantial quantities. Trade continues with South Africa and Mozambique. The onetime sister republic of Malawi, we were told, "is being realistic." Commerce with Zambia, while much reduced, probably has reached a bottom point and may well improve. Advertising lineage is down in the Rhodesian press, but the newspapers are maintaining a profitable operation. Meanwhile, vigorous efforts to promote the tourist trade are under way; a new hotel-motel is in

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prospect at Bulawayo, to rank among the most modern facilities in Africa. Accommodations at Victoria Falls are being enlarged. The gold mines at Gatooma, which employ 3,000 Africans and 400 Europeans, are going "full out." Through various building societies and loan development corporations, privately-owned housing for Africans moves steadily forward.

What lies ahead? Our mission is convinced that, assuming the continued active friendship of South Africa and Portugal, together with the neutrality of Switzerland, the mandatory sanctions imposed under the UN resolution will fail of their purpose. They will not succeed in toppling the Smith government. Within Rhodesia, they may prove a growing irritation and inconvenience; they may produce a certain austerity in living; and probably they will hurt the Africans in terms of employment and capital formation. As time goes on, however, Rhodesia will move closer to economic independence. She will find new ways of exporting even the forbidden exports. And she will survive.

Meanwhile, certain boomerang effects are becoming evident. Great Britain formerly relied upon Rhodesia for 35 per cent of her tobacco imports. Rhodesian flue-cured tobacco is among the best in the world—and it is cheap. With sanctions, Britain's tobacco manufacturers are having to turn to other markets at a higher price. In February, it was announced that Britain's cigarette smokers will pay at least a penny a package more for their cigarettes. Britain is suffering not only a loss of income from her suspended trade with Rhodesia—a trade that may never be regained—but also a heavy new expense in aid to Zambia. On a smaller scale, the same consequences may be seen in the United States. It is one of the strange consequences of this situation that the U.S. shortly will be compelled to buy chrome from Communist Russia rather than from anti-Communist Rhodesia. The American taxpayer also is being put to heavy expense in U.S. subsidies to Zambia and Malawi.

The Rhodesian people, by and large, are convinced that time is working on their side in this economic war. Our mission shares that view. Our guess is that the longer sanctions drag on, the more holes will appear in the fabric of the UN's artificial curtain. Goods will find markets, as water finds its own level. Time is bound to point up the essential hypocrisy of the UN's position, and an awareness of this hypocrisy will contribute to improvement in Rhodesia's economy. Rhodesia's total resources and total energies are committed to her survival; other nations have other fish to fry. Over the long haul, the mandatory sanctions will not serve to weaken Rhodesia; they are likely rather to contribute to an enduring economic strength.

IV

Why the sanctions? Why have these unprecedented decrees been imposed upon Rhodesia? The sad chronology of events merits review and examination, if only to permit some speculation upon the worst and the best developments that may come in the months ahead.

Rhodesia's story begins in 1890, when a company of 180 pioneers and 500 police, known as the Pioneer Column, marched north from Kimberley, established Fort Victoria, and raised the Union Jack at Fort Salisbury. Under the aegis of the British South Africa Company, these pioneers subdued the invading and warlike Matabele, made peace with the Mashona, and embarked upon the formidable task of bringing civilization to a barbaric land. By 1922, it was possible for the developing country to consider a changed political status. A proposal that Southern Rhodesia be annexed to the Union of South Africa was voted down in a referendum, and Rhodesia in 1923 became a self-governing Crown Colony.

The 1923 Constitution reserved two areas of public affairs to the Crown, and left all else to the people of Rhodesia. One of these areas, on which there was never dissent, had to do with foreign policy and external affairs. The other provision reserved to the Crown a veto power over internal legislation concerning the rights of the indigenous population. For a span of forty years, these latter "reserved clauses" aroused no dissension either. The veto power never was exercised.

Rhodesia forged ahead under self-government. Her people developed loyalties and allegiance to their own burgeoning country. They created their own army, air force and civil service. And just as there are Canadians, New Zealanders and Australians within the Commonwealth, so the permanent white residents came to regard themselves as Rhodesians. Their ties to the Crown were affectionate in spirit but tenuous in law. For all practical purposes, they viewed their country as a wholly self-governing dominion.

In 1953, in a mood of cooperation that later came to be regretted, Southern Rhodesia entered into federation with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Within a few years, it became apparent that the federation could not last. African nationalism was rampant within the two other members. The end came when Nyasaland seceded. Northern Rhodesia followed. The federation dissolved on December 31, 1963.

Meanwhile, in July of 1961, Southern Rhodesians were asked to vote upon a new territorial Constitution. The understanding, proclaimed officially by Whitehall, could not have been more clear: the new Constitution would continue all of the self-governing provisions of the 1923 Constitution; it also would eliminate "all the reserved powers at present vested in the Government of the United Kingdom save for certain matters set out in Paragraph 50."

Paragraph 50 provided that Rhodesia would be free "to make amendments to any section of the Constitution without reference to the United Kingdom, with the exception of amendments that would affect a) the position of the Sovereign and the Governor, and b) the right of the United Kingdom Government to safeguard the position regarding international obligations and undertakings given by the Government of Southern Rhodesia in respect of loans under the Colonial Stock Acts."

On these positive assurances and understandings, the people of Southern Rhodesia voted overwhelmingly for the 1961 Constitution. (In passing, it should be noted that it was at this time, as a *quid pro quo*, that the system was created by which fifty seats in Parliament would be chosen

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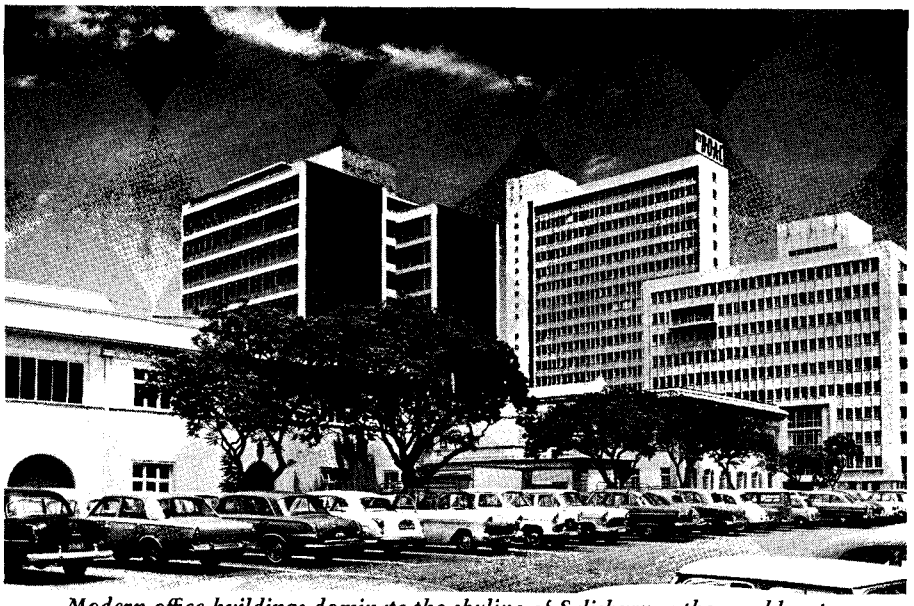
by "A" roll voters, and fifteen seats would be chosen by "B" roll voters, thus assuring African representation within the legislative body.) But to the astonishment of the Rhodesian people, in November of 1961, when a bill was introduced in the House of Commons to implement the new Constitution, the Under Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations announced that Great Britain unilaterally had added a "few minor points which were not mentioned in the White Papers." These few minor points included a section providing that "full power and authority is hereby reserved to Her Majesty by Order in Council to amend, add to or revoke the provisions of Sections 1, 2, 3, 6, 29, 42 *and this Section*." (Emphasis supplied).



Modern office buildings dominate the skyline of Salisbury, a thoroughly up-to-date city of 300,000.

In Salisbury, the imposition of this new section was viewed as a "flagrant and immoral act of fraud and betrayal." Rhodesia had agreed to the new plan of "A" and "B" seats in her Parliament in order to be rid of the old reserved clauses of 1923. But here were the reserved clauses returned with a vengeance. And now it seemed evident, by reason of changing political winds throughout the Commonwealth, that Rhodesia could expect Whitehall to exercise powers of internal domination for the first time in Rhodesian history.

With dissolution of the federation, Great Britain granted complete independence to Nyasaland (now named Malawi) on July 6, 1964, and complete independence to Northern Rhodesia (now named Zambia) on October 24, 1964. Southern Rhodesia began to seethe with impatience and frustration. The British government denies that there was any commitment, moral or otherwise, that Southern Rhodesia also would be granted complete independence at this time. In Salisbury, the feeling was quite different.

A series of conferences led to a hope for peaceful resolution of the situation. Sir Alec Douglas-Home, then Prime Minister of Britain, indicated that if Rhodesia's Prime Minister Ian Smith could show that a majority of all the population of Rhodesia favored independence under the basic provisions of the 1961 Constitution, some progress might be made.

In the autumn of 1964, an effort was made to provide these assurances. The tribal chiefs as the acknowledged leaders of more than 60 per cent of the African population held a four-day "indaba." At its conclusion on October 26, they voted unanimously in favor of this independence plan. A week or so later the registered voters concurred overwhelmingly—the vote was 58,176 to 6,101—in favor of the proposition.

These demonstrations proved unavailing. The government of Great Britain, under increasing pressure from African members of the Commonwealth, now scoffed at Rhodesia's tribal chiefs as mere puppets of the white regime. The expression of opinion was brushed aside as inadequate and unsatisfactory. Independence was denied, and it was indicated that nothing would suffice short of a new Constitution assuring prompt transition to African majority rule. White Rhodesians, keenly aware of the bloody chaos that had come elsewhere in Africa with the premature grant of power to unready Africans, could not possibly accept this demand. After another series of frustrating conferences ranging over a ten-month period, the government of Ian Smith unilaterally declared Rhodesia's independence.

Great Britain at once invoked economic war against Rhodesia, froze Rhodesian assets in British banks, and obtained from the United Nations two resolutions of support for voluntary sanctions. Following the conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers at Lagos in January of 1966, at which many of the African spokesmen vociferously demanded force, Great Britain increased its pressure to include an embargo on oil. In April, with UN approval, British vessels blockaded the port of Beira in a naval action that once would have been regarded as an act of war against Portugal. Within Rhodesia, the people began to go it alone.

Prime Minister Wilson had anticipated that his program of sanctions would bring Rhodesia to her knees "in a matter of months, if not weeks." His prophecy proved unfounded. It shortly became apparent that these measures would not succeed. A new series of informal talks followed, in which new possibilities were developed for peaceful settlement based upon six principles laid down by the British government. At 11:15 o'clock on the morning of Friday, December 2, Prime Ministers Wilson and Smith met aboard H.M.S. *Tiger* at sea off Gibraltar.

Subsequently, both the Rhodesian and the British governments issued white papers reporting upon the *Tiger* negotiations. Though the accounts naturally differ in tone and emphasis, they are remarkably in accord in their description of the hard bargaining that resulted in a Working Document. Prime Ministers Wilson and Smith, accompanied by a few advisers, went at the task of negotiating an agreement with a fierce

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tenacity. Each side yielded something toward a compromise settlement. An entirely new structure of Rhodesian government was devised.

Under this plan, instead of the present fifty "A" roll and fifteen "B" roll seats, the Parliament would have been reconstituted with a House of 33 "A" roll seats, seventeen "B" roll seats, and seventeen European reserved seats. In addition, the plan proposed a new Senate, to be formed of twelve white members, eight elected Africans, and six tribal chiefs. The franchise was to be extended immediately, through the "B" roll, to an additional 500,000 Africans over the age of thirty. An intricate system of cross-voting between the rolls, intended to give the African voters still greater potential power, was to be continued. The Smith government agreed to a plan by which the African population would be permanently protected against retrogressive amendment of the Constitution. Two Royal Commissions were to be created, one to make a general study of racial discrimination, the other to test the acceptability of the constitutional proposals to the Rhodesian population as a whole.

THESE SEVERAL PROVISIONS, which Prime Minister Smith was prepared to accept, would have fully satisfied the six principles laid down by Britain. The African would have been guaranteed immediate political advancement; he would have been protected against retrogressive constitutional amendment in the future; he would be assured of unimpeded progress toward majority rule. The *Tiger* agreement contained other concessions on Rhodesia's part, dealing with detention, restriction, and censorship. For its part, the British government yielded on several points having to do with the structure of the Rhodesian House and Senate, and also pledged its best efforts—once a legal condition of independence had been secured—to see that normal trade was restored.

To the outside observer, the proposed constitutional changes seemed to be very models of the bargaining process—fair, reasonable, and responsible. They were acceptable to Her Majesty's government. They were equally acceptable to the Rhodesian government. Why, then, did the talks collapse?

Two reasons have been advanced. The first of these arises from the peremptory tone, amounting to an ultimatum, in which Prime Minister Wilson demanded Rhodesia's acceptance of the package as a whole. During the eighth and final session aboard the *Tiger*, Mr. Wilson berated Mr. Smith for his refusal to commit his government to the agreement. The British government, he said, was "not prepared to be pushed around." Mr. Smith was "free to embark on his aircraft whenever he wished; but in that case the proposed settlement would be withdrawn and the British government would tell the world where they stood." For his own part, Mr. Wilson had come to Gibraltar with full powers to sign a final agreement; he could not understand why Mr. Smith could not commit himself on the spot. Mr. Smith steadfastly insisted upon consulting his associates in Salisbury. The two leaders parted on the worst of terms. Britain's final demand (this was at one o'clock Sunday morning, December 4) was that Rhodesia give a final answer by ten o'clock Monday morning, December 5.

Britain's defense for this summary timetable is that the UN Security Council was about to meet in New York; the Rhodesian question was scheduled for debate; it was imperative that decisive action be taken. Moreover, the Commonwealth Ministers had been promised that Britain would seek further measures at the UN "by the end of the year" if the question of Rhodesia's independence had not been brought to a satisfactory resolution.

Whatever Britain's reasons may have been, the brusque demand for a yes-or-no reply on so short a notice caused much resentment in Salisbury. There it was felt that Mr. Smith had conceded a good deal, but perhaps not too much; the whole complicated business needed some reflection and looking at; it ought to be examined with some deliberation. A few hours were not enough for so grave a matter. Mr. Smith himself had been through a grueling three days aboard the British vessel; he had just made a long flight back to Rhodesia; his own temper, we may surmise, was badly frayed.

But the rudeness of Mr. Wilson and the terms of the ultimatum constituted only the first of the two reasons for Rhodesia's rejection of the *Tiger* agreement. The second and more significant body of objections arose from the insistence of the British Prime Minister on what was termed by the English a "return to legality." Procedures for this so-called "return to legality" were contained in Part III of the Working Document. Remember that Rhodesia has been virtually independent for many decades—that, while England had reserved certain veto and control rights, they had not been exercised. In the face of this, the Rhodesians were now to be required to throw themselves wholly on the mercy of England.

Under the terms of Part III, the existing Rhodesian legislature was to be dissolved, and legislative powers invested in a Royal Governor who would act "on the advice of Ministers except in those cases where he is empowered to act in his own discretion." No later than four months from the date of dissolution of the legislature "and on the assumption that the test of acceptability . . . will have been completed in that interval," new elections would be held. Meanwhile, Mr. Smith would be invited to head an interim broad-based government, but this interim government would have to include five independent members and Africans. "This government will be appointed by the Governor in his discretion."

Part III went on to emphasize that the Royal Governor would be responsible, during the interim period, "for the maintenance of law and order and the protection of human rights." The Governor would exercise these powers as "Commander-in-Chief of the Defense Forces." Moreover, before any testing of opinion was carried out, censorship would have to be removed and a Royal Commission would have to review the cases of persons kept under restriction or detention. If the constitutional changes were found to be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole, "the British government will at the earliest possible date introduce the necessary legislation to

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Rhodesia: Mr. Ian Smith has mingle marshalsely to watch a football game at Salisbury's Police Stadium.

grant independence to Rhodesia on this basis, and will commend this legislation to Parliament." But if the changes were found to be unacceptable, "the two governments will immediately confer together to consider what steps should be taken to devise alternative proposals for an independent constitution." Finally, Part III provided that not until legal government was restored would the British government "take all action in their power to bring about an immediate discontinuance of the economic and other sanctions at present in force."

The Rhodesian cabinet found Part III utterly unacceptable. In the view of Mr. Smith and his ministers, these provisions amounted to nothing less than absolute surrender. They would have abandoned their legislature; they would have yielded ultimate control of their own police and armed forces to the Royal Governor in any matter involving "the maintenance of law and order and the protection of human rights." The duration of an interim period was not fixed at four months precisely; it was four months indefinitely, or contingently, and subject to certain assumptions that were left to the Royal Governor and to Royal Commissions. For the first time in its history, Rhodesia would be subject to active British rule. There was no guarantee that independence could ever be achieved; there was no more than a promise that it would be talked about.

On Monday, December 5, Rhodesia informed Britain of its rejection of the *Tiger* proposals. The British government thereupon withdrew the proposals it previously had advanced and accepted, and announced that no solution hereafter would be acceptable which would grant independence prior to majority rule.

On December 7-8, the House of Commons debated and adopted the Labor Government's motion to seek mandatory sanctions through the United Nations. Speaking in opposition, Reginald Maudling sadly remarked that he feared Rhodesia was a problem "which could become for us what Algeria was for France." If it is a fact, he added, that from now on there is no prospect of a settlement with independence before majority rule, "it is for people in Rhodesia a fight to the finish. Let us face that." Debate on the Rhodesian question got under way before the UN's Security Council at 5 PM on December 8. It concluded on December 16, with the Council's adoption of Resolution 232. Rhodesia's request to be heard in her own defense was "mislaid" and strangely was not discussed until three weeks later.

Speaking in support of Britain's draft resolution on sanctions, Foreign Minister George Brown said that by reason of her illegal declaration of independence, Rhodesia had created acute dangers to peace and stability in the whole region of Central and Southern Africa. A small group of reckless men had provoked a situation fraught with great and growing danger of interracial strife and bloodshed. The matter could not be left to deteriorate. Not only the stability and progress of Rhodesia's immediate neighbors were at stake, but also the maintenance of international peace and security.

Some critics of British policy, Mr. Brown continued, took the position that sanctions would not suffice, and that force should be employed. He had made his government's position clear in the past, and would add but one word: We all know from experience that it is easy to start to use force, but often very difficult to see just where it will lead or how it will be possible to control or stop it. The proposed economic sanctions would have an immediate and telling effect. He urged their prompt adoption and full support.

Mr. Kapwepwe, speaking for Zambia on December 9, charged Britain with duplicity. He was more than ever convinced that the solution of the Rhodesian question had been purposefully delayed by the United Kingdom government. The talks between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Smith were a wicked scheme to sell out the African majority. Publication of the *Tiger* proposals had openly exposed Britain's collusion with a racist minority regime. World opinion would now hold the Wilson government criminally responsible for the denial of freedom, independence and self-determination to the people of Rhodesia. He asked if this new Wilson stratagem was merely a face-saving device. Or was it the final act in a plot to sell out the African majority of Southern Rhodesia and to destroy Zambia's economy? In Zambia's view, force was still "the only sure solution."

The delegate from Mali, Mr. Keita, took the same position. Britain was acting "with clever hypocrisy and in accordance with a cynical and premeditated plan." It was engaged in diabolical calculations of self-interest. No one should be deluded by the monstrous farce of the British. As for Mali, "we shall always insist that the use of force is the only means to overcome the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia; to try to claim the opposite is truly nonsensical."

The delegate from India, Mr. Parthasarathi, concurred: "My delegation has always held, and continues

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to hold, that the only really effective method is the use of force."

The delegate from Bulgaria, Mr. Tarabanov, observed that "if we wish truly to solve the problem in Southern Rhodesia effective measures must be taken, including the use of force by the United Kingdom under the auspices, if necessary, of the United Nations."

The delegate from Nigeria, Mr. Adebo, said that "we believe and have always believed quite firmly that force would be essential to bring about the downfall of the racist regime."

The delegate from Jordan, Mr. El-Farra, noted that if the mandatory sanctions fail in this purpose, "the only alternative is resort to force, and that we have been advocating all along."

The delegate from Senegal, Mr. Thiam, felt that Britain was engaged merely in trickery in asking for sanctions: "It should put down the rebellion by its own means, as France did in Algeria. The use of force appears to us to be the only means of solving the Rhodesian problem."

Other peaceloving members of the United Nations, including the delegate from the Soviet Union, denounced the Rhodesian regime for its denial of democratic rights. Ambassador Goldberg spoke at some length for the United States.

In the view of the U.S., he said, the sanctions are necessary in order to drive home to the illegal regime that the international community will not tolerate the existence of a discriminatory system based on minority rule in defiance of the United Nations and its principles. A century ago the United States had rid itself of the political principle of racial superiority. It should not be necessary for him to emphasize that what could not be accepted by the United States in the mid-nineteenth century surely cannot be accepted by the international community in the late twentieth century.

Mr. Goldberg acknowledged that some persons would ask why it is proper to impose mandatory sanctions in the case of Rhodesia, but not in other cases. The Rhodesian situation, he thought, contains a number of unique elements: It involves the seizure of power by a minority bent upon subjugating a vast majority on racial grounds. It presents a dangerous and inflammatory threat to peace. In any event, it is an unhappy fact, which we must recognize, that some situations exist in the world in which the Council has been unable to act effectively. "Here is a situation in which we can act . . ."

The British draft resolution was amended to add a prohibition against the shipment of oil or oil products to Rhodesia. The Council then adopted the resolution by a vote of 11-0, with four abstentions. The favorable votes were cast by Argentina, China, Japan, Jordan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Uganda, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Uruguay. Those abstaining were Bulgaria, France, Mali, and the Soviet Union.

During the course of the Security Council's debate, a considerable volume of press comment in the United States was directed toward the legality, and toward the wisdom, of the UN resolution.

ARTICLE 33 of the UN Charter establishes the procedures that must be followed by "the parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of peace and security." These procedures include negotiation, enquiry, mediation and conciliation. The Security Council, when it deems necessary, is required to call upon the parties to settle their disputes by such means. None of these procedures, however, was invoked in the dispute between Britain and Rhodesia, apparently upon the reasoning that Rhodesia was not a state, and hence could not be a "party to any dispute."

The other side of that proposition is that Rhodesia must therefore be a colony subject to the jurisdiction of Great Britain. Yet if this were so, Article 2, Section (7) would apply. This says that "nothing contained in the present charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state . . ." (France adopted the view in abstaining that the Anglo-Rhodesian dispute was an essentially domestic issue, and thus beyond the authority of the Security Council.)

Russia also abstained in the final vote, though for other reasons. (The delegate of the USSR explained his abstention by his disappointment at defeat of certain severe amendments sought by the African bloc.) Thus two of the Council's permanent members did not register affirmative votes on the resolution. Chapter V, Article 27, Section (3) of the Charter, provides that decisions of the Security Council on all matters, other than procedural, shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members, *including the concurring votes of the permanent members.*

The resolution nevertheless was declared adopted pursuant to the provisions of Article 39, empowering the Security Council to determine when a threat exists to international peace and security, and to take appropriate action against such a threat. Yet it would be supposed that any such determination would involve, at the very least, a meticulous investigation into the facts. Such a solemn finding presupposes convincing evidence of hostile and aggressive acts. No such investigation ever was undertaken, and no such evidence was gathered. No such evidence exists.

Walter Lippmann, dean of American commentators on foreign affairs, objected strongly to the action of the UN in adopting Britain's resolution.

"This is surely a most extraordinary way to suppress a rebellion against the sovereignty of an imperial power," Mr. Lippmann remarked. "At any other time a rebellion like that in the Rhodesian capital of Salisbury would have been put down by British troops, or if the troops were unable to put it down, the independence of the Rhodesian government would have been recognized by a treaty of peace. But what has actually happened is that the Wilson government did not feel strong enough to suppress the rebellion, or was afraid the British voters would object if it tried. In any event, the Prime Minister of Great Britain assured the rebel government that it would not be suppressed. Having given up the game at the outset, Mr. Wilson has been trying ever since to win the game by harassment and threats and bluff and other devices. . . . Mr. Wilson has, of course, failed . . .

"The plea to the United Nations to use force against Rhodesia is a disservice to the United Nations. Mr. Wilson is asking the UN to do what it was never meant to do, what it is

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not organized to do, and what it cannot do."

A number of members of the Congress joined the press in these objections to the imposition of sanctions, but their voices were unavailing. On January 5, President Johnson issued Executive Order 11322, extending the prohibitions of the UN resolution to all persons subject to the jurisdiction of the United States. Mr. Johnson cited as his authority "the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including Section 5 of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945." On February 28, the Treasury Department issued a supplementary regulation through the Office of Foreign Assets Control, further inhibiting U.S. commerce with Rhodesia and directing attention to Section 5(b) of the UN Participation Act; this section provides for a fine of up to $10,000 and imprisonment for not more than ten years for willful violation or evasion of the President's order.

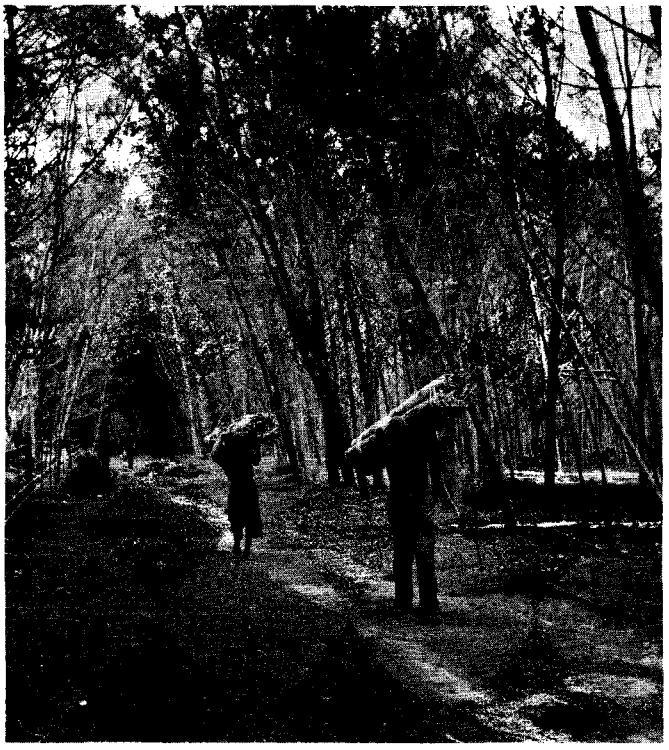
We are not here raising the question of the President's authority to issue the order referred to. Nor do we intend any criticism of the UN Participation Act which gave him this authority. We are concerned with the position which the United States took at the UN itself when the resolution on sanctions was presented.

V

In all the multiple ironies of the Rhodesian affair, perhaps nothing is more ironical than the active help and and encouragement given to Great Britain in this venture by the United States of America. The Declaration of Independence proclaimed in Salisbury on November 11, 1965 was unusual but it was not unprecedented within the British Empire. The last preceding such resolution was proclaimed in Philadelphia in July of 1776. The English colonies that then declared themselves free and independent states were to adopt a Constitution in 1788 specifically permitting Negro slavery. Thereafter, the States were to establish an appalling record of treachery, genocide, and discrimination in their treatment of the Indian. A right of franchise, regardless of race, was not to be assured in the United States until 1869. The right of women to vote was not to be assured until 1920. The principle of "one-man one-vote" was not to be judicially recognized until *Baker* v. *Carr* in 1962. In some areas of the American South, discrimination against the Negro voter exists so significantly, to this day, that federal examiners have had to be assigned in certain counties and parishes. How remarkable it is that the United States of America, in the light of this history of two centuries of revolution and evolution, should align itself with Great Britain in a punitive course of action predicated upon Rhodesia's failure in seventy years to attain a democratic society!

There is more. In pursuit of its policy to oppose Communist expansion throughout the world, the United States in 1961 sought the help of its friends in enforcing an embargo upon the sale and shipment of strategic goods to Communist Cuba. Great Britain coolly refused to assist the United States in this regard. The United States has committed itself to full-scale war in Vietnam. Great Britain has declined to assist this effort in any way. Meanwhile, tiny Rhodesia sturdily and persistently has pursued a policy of stout anti-Communism. She has been a small but good friend to the United States. One is inclined to ask, What price friendship?

The basic charge against an independent Rhodesia, as we have re-



Though the country has modern factories aplenty, many Rhodesian industries depend on natural products and hand labor.

Staff members of the Washburn Memorial Hospital receive nursing instruction at the Nyadiri Methodist Centre, Mtoko.

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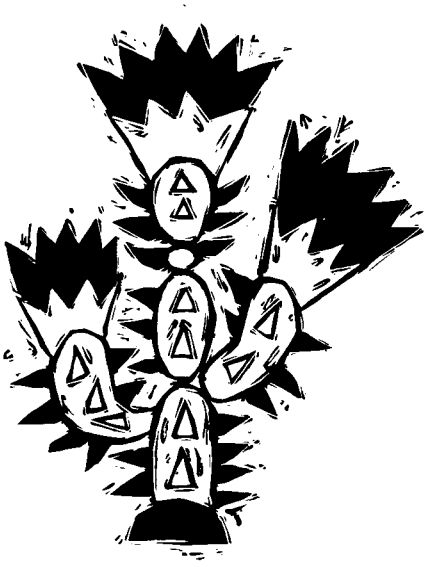
marked, arises from her purported oppression of the black majority, and especially from the absence in Rhodesia of a system of majority rule. On the basis of our own observations, the charge is groundless. The African Rhodesian, far from being oppressed or exploited, is benefiting immensely from schools, medical services, employment opportunities and internal security. The franchise laws of Rhodesia are nonracial; they are based upon considerations of literacy and property which have an ancient and respectable history within the United States. Under the constitutional changes accepted by Mr. Smith in the *Tiger* negotiations, majority control of the Rhodesian Parliament would be vested in the African people within a generation.

Upon the unproved and bizarre theory that a peaceful Rhodesia is a threat to international peace, the United Nations imposed mandatory sanctions for the first time in its 21 years of existence. In taking this action, the Security Council trampled upon the UN Charter and made a travesty of its own supreme law. By general agreement of most observers (including the envious and hostile African observers), the sanctions will not succeed in their announced purpose; they will not bring the Smith government to its knees. If this prophecy should prove correct, the impotence of the United Nations will stand vividly revealed. The melancholy chronicle of the old League of Nations offers a benchmark in history by which the fate of impotent international organizations may be charted.

Assuming the failure of the mandatory sanctions, what then? Force? By Great Britain alone? The Labor government would invite its own dissolution. Well, then, by a police force bearing the flag of the United Nations? It cannot be seriously supposed that public opinion within the United States, let alone within many European nations, would support an aggressive war by the UN against Rhodesia—especially if such a war promised to involve Portuguese Angola and Mozambique, and South Africa, upon Rhodesia's side. As Mr. Lippmann has remarked, "The United Nations has no more force than the force which its strongest members will provide themselves or will approve of."

The unjust and foredoomed policies of Britain and the United Nations cannot be permitted to continue indefinitely. What is needed, in our view, is a fresh effort toward reconciliation along the lines of the *Tiger* proposals. Here a foundation was laid in December of 1966. It ought not to be abandoned in the spring of 1967. Britain's flat pledge that she would not hereafter consent to any plan of independence before majority rule was a mistake. Common sense tells us that mistakes ought to be corrected; they ought not to be entrenched. It may be that Rhodesia's distrust of certain proposals as to an interim period was excessive. Means must be found for relieving this distrust, and for devising substitute machinery for achieving a peaceful settlement. It is our hope that our own government will take the lead by offering its good offices in an attempt to make sound and practical sense out of a situation which has been permitted to deteriorate into an apparent stalemate.

Rhodesia's wise and thoughtful adherence to policies of evolutionary development can be of immense value to a world that is wrongly obsessed with the notion of instant achievement. It simply is not true that a largely primitive society can be transformed into a politically mature society in the fashion of instant coffee or instant rice. So complex and difficult an effort takes time above all else—time, and patience, and good will. This is what Rhodesia asks. And it is wrong, shamefully wrong, that the most enlightened nations of the world, having achieved their own status through evolutionary means, should have imposed upon Rhodesia anathema instead.



The American-African Affairs Association was organized in 1965 to "... further the cause of knowledge concerning Africa among the people of the United States ... without regard to the prevailing shibboleths, and from two viewpoints which we take to be similar in all essential respects: the cause of freedom in its struggle against world Communism; and the best interests of the United States of America." Since that time, the Association has sought to implement its general objectives through various publications and first hand on-the-spot reporting, such as has been accomplished by the fact-finding mission to Rhodesia.

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The Populism of George Wallace

PRINCIPLES & HERESIES

Frank S. Meyer

GEORGE WALLACE, like every American demagogue in our history, is a populist. Populism is the radical opposite of conservatism. Why, then, are some conservatives attracted to his candidacy? Why is he able to enter the national arena as a champion of the conservative opposition to prevailing liberalism? These questions have to be answered and Wallace's claims to conservative support unmasked, if his candidacy is not to tear apart the American conservative movement and poison the moral source of its strength. The danger is twofold: the distraction of conservative energy from the difficult, but eminently possible, task of defeating liberalism in the Republican Party, and the distortion of conservative principle by acquiescence in Wallace's simplistic demagogy.

Meyer

A major outcome of the 1964 campaign is that conservatives, if they organize and work, hold at the least a veto over the choice of the Republican convention. Despite the '64 defeat, they have gained substantial control of large sections of the Republican organization. They may not in 1968 be strong enough to nominate the candidate they would most desire, but if they remain united, they can certainly so act that, in alliance with the professional politicians, they can present the country with a serious and greatly more conservative alternative to Johnson.

Powerful historical currents like liberalism are not reversed overnight. The liberals took many decades to achieve their hegemony; patience and hard work should be no more difficult for conservatives, whose view of society respects the complex interrelationships of human beings and repudiates utopian reliance upon instant change.

More surely fatal to American conservatism, however, than the impatient loss of solid political opportunities within the Republican Party would be the integral destruction of moral being that would flow from adherence to the Wallace candidacy. And this returns me to the questions with which I began this column. What is the appeal of Wallace to conservatives, and why is that appeal so dangerous for the future of American conservatism?

THE ROOT OF THE PROBLEM lies in the history of the contemporary conservative movement. That movement came into existence under circumstances of liberal domination of the national scene. Although in its intellectual leadership and development it has been based on firm conservative principle, it has drawn its support, to begin with, not primarily from widespread conscious conservative sources but from diverse groups, each of which was in opposition to liberalism for limited and particular reasons.

Some, who were appalled by the appeasement of Soviet Communism and our retreat before its drive to power, were not deeply concerned by the glacier-like advance of domestic centralization and collectivism. Some, who felt deeply the domestic danger, did not understand, and failed to be alarmed by, the power of international Communism. Some were drawn into opposition to liberalism by its steady encroachment on the liberties of individual citizens; others, by the paradoxically opposite effect of liberal theories of government, the decay of law and order.

Diverse, often contradictory, positions of this sort abound in the constituency of the conservative movement. In the brief dozen to fifteen years of its existence in its contemporary form, however, it has performed a massive educational task in broadening the conspectus of those whom it has influenced and in forging a broad understanding based on principle. Still, the original strains exist in many quarters—instinctively, temperamentally, emotionally—and at crucial moments they come to the surface. When they do, those of us who attack certain positions as alien to the spirit of conservatism are inevitably criticized on the grounds that those whom we are attacking are also enemies of liberalism. What such criticism ignores is that there are other dangers to conservatism and to the civilization conservatives are defending than the liberal Establishment, and that to fight liberalism without guarding against these dangers runs the risk of ending in a situation as bad as or worse than our present one.

SO IT IS with the populism of George Wallace. Populism is one of the elements in the opposition to liberalism, because the arrogant and naked élitism of the liberals, isolated from the ethics and tradition of the people, is populism's polar opposite. But the polar opposite of a political perversion is not necessarily itself a good. Thus, while liberalism stands for the imposition of utopian design upon the people because the liberals know it is right, populism would substitute the tyranny of the majority over the individual, the pure will of "the people," untrammeled by considerations of freedom and virtue. It is in its own way as alien to the American conservative conception of constitutional republican government as is liberalism.

This populism is the air that Wallace breathes. Every speech he makes, every interview he gives, is redolent of it. Of course, when he talks of Vietnam or of violence in the streets or of federal encroachment, he takes positions parallel to conservative positions. But when it is a question of socialist welfare measures or when he builds a welfare state in Alabama, he is as far from conservatism as any liberal. His combination of nationalist and socialist appeals, couched in the rhetoric of incitement of the masses and contempt for the intellect in all its manifestations, is radically alien to conservatism.

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Wines of America

ALEC WAUGH

Since President Johnson issued his fiat that whenever practicable, American wines should be served in United States embassies, I have only once been honored with an invitation to dine in one. On that occasion His Excellency ignored the fiat, and a worthy claret followed a delicate Moselle. Greatly though I enjoyed them, I was disappointed. I had been curious to see which American wines a discerning and generous host would give his guests. On the Eastern Seaboard and in mid-Atlantic states most wine lists carry a preponderance of New York State wines, and no doubt a taste for them can be acquired, as it can be for the Greek Rezzina, but a European palate cannot easily become accustomed to the foxy flavor of the Concord grape, and I did not expect to find a New York State wine on an ambassadorial table. California wines are in another category.

The vine had been already introduced by the Spanish missionaries before the state was populated in the middle of the nineteenth century by a torrent of wine-needing immigrants who quickly recognized that the cool climate of the San Bernardino Valley was propitious for table wines and the dry heat of the San Joaquin Valley produced grapes with a high sugar content happily suited to dessert wines. The men who launched the wine industry knew their business, many of them through previous European training; they imported their vines from France and Germany; for their red wines the Pinot Noir and Gamay from Burgundy and the Cabarnet Sauvignon from Bordeaux; for white wines there were the Pinot Blanc and Pinot Chardonnay from Burgundy, the Semillon and Sauvignon blanc from Bordeaux, the Sylvaner, the Traminer and the grey Riesling from Alsace, the Johannisberger Riesling from the Rhine. And they had the sound commercial sense to recruit Chinese laborers to tread their grapes, so that they themselves should have ample leisure in which to make their fortunes in an explosively bull economy.

The vines flourished in their new home but the industry was to suffer a grievous setback during Prohibition. After repeal, with rusty machinery, it had to re-educate a country that had grown accustomed to a regime of cocktails and highballs, was self-conscious about its ignorance of table wines, and was suspicious of the wine-snobbery in which so many connoisseurs indulged. It set about its difficult task with admirable practicality. It makes everything as easy as possible for the neophyte. It does not confuse him with nomenclature. Many of the technicalities

of the trade are expressed in French, and why, the beginner asks, should the adjective *velouté* (velvety) be a mark of praise, while *fruité* (fruity) indicates opprobrium. Wine is an abstruse subject, and a fairly lengthy study of wine manuals is required before you can distinguish on a wine list between Vosne-Romanée and Romanée-Conti, and appreciate that Gevrey-Chambertin is not the wine that accompanied Napoleon into battle. The American who for fifteen years had made do and not done badly with powerful, preprandial potations, did not want to be bothered with all that European *chichi*. The Californian wine industry has done its best to spare him that.

It does not harass him with complicated labels. It concentrates on what it calls "varietal wines." It tells the customer from which grapes the wine was made and leaves him to make his choice, believing that he will soon discover that red wines made from the Pinot Noir are, as in Burgundy, better than those made from the Gamay and are more expensive. There is hardly any talk of vintage years; there is no need when the climate is so consistent that with skilful blending the wines of one year are identical with those of its predecessors. Champagne is made on the German system; after the second fermentation, the wine is cleaned in vats; there are none of the meticulous manipulations of Rheims, with the daily twisting and tilting of each bottle till it is ready for the *dégorgement*, the substitution of one cork for another. No need for talk of vintages. It is mass production, yes, but does that matter when the result is so satisfactory? Sound Californian wines are as good as any you can get anywhere, except those few, very few localities—on the Rhone and on the Medoc, on the golden slopes of Burgundy and around Epernay; and then only in a lucky year.

Californian wines are good but they are not great; but can we be quite certain yet that they could not be great, if the exact areas were found for their cultivation? The vine, after all, had traveled a long way before it came to those few sacred places. May not such vineyards exist without our knowing it in California? The world has dire need of them. The supply of casual wines is so great that in France there is danger of overproduction. But though the population is increasing at an alarming rate, though there are more and more people capable of enjoying the amenities of living and consequently anxious to taste great wines, the supply of those wines cannot be increased. Bordeaux and Burgundy, the Rhine and Epernay can only produce just so much. The price of their great wines will soon be out of reach of all but a very few. It is sad for me to reflect that my grandchildren will only be able to afford on rare occasions the third- and fourth-growth clarets that in the 1930s I drank as a matter of course three or four times a week, reserving Margaux and Chambertin for an occasion. Unless there is discovered some new source of excellence, and why should not a miracle be accorded us? The legions of Crassus when they assailed Bordeaux did not suspect that there were stored in its cellars wines far

(Continued on p. 540)

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A Gentleman of the Old School

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

Like Nelson's column and the sentries outside St. James' Palace, Sir Shane Leslie, striding along in his kilt and with his tall stick, has long been one of the sights of London. He carried with him, I always felt, an echo of the past and of Ireland, of more robust times and places. He once (when already in his mid-seventies) kissed my secretary on the steps of our office. Being a sensible girl, she was delighted.

He has now written a very characteristic volume of reminiscences, *Long Shadows*. Unkind critics might say it was mere formless anecdotage. Wiser men will welcome and relish it for what it is: uninhibited and extremely entertaining conversation of an Irish gentleman whose birth and background gave him admission to the best company of his time, whose energy and warm heart gave him a boundless interest in places and people, and whose deliberately chosen faith made him a staunch, though not unamused, champion of the Catholic Church. To listen to him is both a pleasure and an education.

THE MOOD of his life story was set at the very beginning. He was baptized eighty-one years ago "by our fat and amorous Chaplain, Canon John Hudson, who once fell into our fountain on the way to church, enticed it was supposed by a naked nymph, as pictured in the Family Scrapbook." As children, the young Leslies were threatened by their father that, if they misbehaved, he would have them made into bishops when they grew up—"at which chastening thought we always burst into tears and promised to be good."

Long Shadows, by Shane Leslie. British Book Centre, $9.00

In fact, however, Shane Leslie is rather fond of bishops, as indeed of priests and popes, and he tells many jolly stories about the clergy, some of them perhaps a trifle recondite for the ordinary reader. He heard Dean Farrar, the author of *Eric, or Little by Little,* preach at the memorial service for Lord Randolph Churchill, and quotes Winston Churchill (Shane's cousin, with whom he was largely brought up) as expressing belief in a future life, a thing Winston rarely did. Shane Leslie himself is a firm believer not only in the life to come but in ghosts, and he has something to say about them, too.

At his first school he met an American boy, Robert McCormick, with whom he shook hands warmly in token of the fact that the Leslies had American blood. He says it simply isn't true that the anti-British sentiments of the *Chicago Tribune* stemmed from any unhappiness experienced by its editor at that English private school. For Shane Leslie, as for so many boys, Eton was an unforgettable idyll, though already the South African war provided an ominous undertone, which now seems pregnant with far worse tragedies to come. "The long thin line of the Eton dead began under the heading ETONA NON IMMEMOR, until with the years and wars the list has proved unending even unto the ending of the Empire which was to us the world."

Shane's Aunt Clara was escorted to the top of his ridiculous tower by Monsieur Eiffel himself, the first woman to perform this intrepid feat. Shane, while studying at the Sorbonne, watched the funeral of Emile Zola, which was attended by some very French melodramatics, and saw Sarah Bernhardt playing *l'Aiglon*. A ritualist friend at Cambridge claimed to have exorcised a demon from Maynard Keynes; a task which some may feel must have been left incomplete.

After Cambridge, he traveled in Russia, which was still "the most religious country in the world"; devoted himself to good works in the East End of London; and plunged into Irish politics at a time when (not that Irish elections are so different now) both sides regularly polled at least 101 per cent of the Register, zealously including their dead as well as their sick.

THEN OFF HE WENT to America, which stimulates another crop of stories. Prince Henry of Prussia, he recalls, "made a *gaffe* which though whispered in Washington never received historical mention. He was shown and allowed to handle the famous sword which General Washington left on condition it was never drawn save against the enemies of his country. Prince Henry drew the blade before he could be warned."

He heard Teddy Roosevelt roaring with laughter over a letter he had received from a certain Mrs. Leiter. She was complaining about the proposal to build a public lavatory opposite her home on Q Street, and suggested instead that it should be erected on the next street, which was named after the previous letter of the alphabet.

On Thanksgiving Day he drove to New York with a girl called Marjorie Ide. They hit a turkey-wagon and were nearly killed. Extricating himself from flapping birds, he said jocularly, "As we have not been able to die together, had we not better live together?" This jest, he discovered, was taken as a proposal, a happy accident which he had no occasion to regret.

His brother Norman dueled with rapiers, for an hour and a half, against an Egyptian Pasha, almost certainly the last duel—hushed up but officially condoned—fought by a

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serving British officer. The *casus belli* was the Pasha's wife. Several ladies more noted for their beauty than for their discretion appear in Shane Leslie's pages. There was Gertie Miller, for example. The Duke of Westminster, escorting her home one evening, asked the address of her house. "But you gave it me!" she gasped. "Have you forgotten already?"

And there was the unfortunate lady of easy virtue in whose arms the President of France, Félix Faure, so embarrassingly died. Paris gave him a grimly witty epitaph: "*Plus Félix que fort.*"

As though wearying of his task or perhaps merely unattracted by the tedious modern world, Shane Leslie bustles perfunctorily through the final chapters, and indeed tells us nothing at all about the past twenty years. We catch a few glimpses of him as a Home Guard during the bombing of London and preparing, with shotgun and bowie knife, to make a last stand on Wimbledon Common if the Germans invaded. And we see him one night patrolling the darkened streets with Ernest Simpson, who talked of far-off days in Baltimore. "He remembered a certain Ladies' Academy where three great Beauties were much admired but no prospective beau was allowed near. I asked what happened to this beauteous three. After a pause he covered his face and murmured—'Oh my God, I married all three in turn.' The Duchess of Windsor was number two."

In Shane Leslie's lifetime there have been six sovereigns of England, seven popes and fourteen Presidents of the United States (of whom he knew three). No one could have gathered a richer harvest of fun and friendship and love and wit. Among his generation and class he was not unique. What I fear is that he may have no successors. We have broken the mould, the pattern of civilized living and coherent society in which such characters can flourish. So let us appreciate him while we may.

Muted Thunder

NEAL FREEMAN

In the September 1965 issue of *Commentary,* George Lichtheim set down his "over-all impression" of the foreign news coverage of the *New York Times*: "a compound of ignorance, provincialism, and plain incompetence." There were three reactions to his pronouncement. First, a deafening chorus of "I wish I'd said that" up from the legions of the Disestablishment. Second, from the more audacious phenomenologists, conspicuously Henry Fairlie, some quiet demurrals to Lichtheim's methodology. And third, from Times Square, silence.

***The Artillery of the Press: Its Influence on American Foreign Policy,* by James Reston. Harper, $3.95**

Criticism of the *Times,* even from the most prestigious and disinterested parties, has traditionally been beneath Timesian notice. In the official view, it is not news. In the unofficial view, it is not possible. It is with some surprise then, and increasing interest, that one moves through this slender volume from the highly professional typewriter of James Reston, Associate Editor, *New York Times.* It is, in part, an answer to Lichtheim.

Lichtheim's sharpest thrust was made in this half-paragraph: "The editors in New York plainly are not interested in anything save 'spot news,' and the correspondents in the field for the most part are unable to produce anything else. Analytical coverage is no part of their training. They are expected to discover what is going on, in the most literal sense. If there is no 'crisis' . . . they feel there is nothing to report." Now Reston. He first notes that with the implacable advance of television, there is little future in the spot news business for the daily newspapers. The daylight to which they must run: interpretive reporting. Newspapermen must write about "what is going to happen in addition to what governments do"; they must pay "more attention to the causes rather than merely the effects of international strife."

In fairness to Reston, it should be noted that he has made this point before. His has long been represented as the modernist point of view within the *Times* hierarchy, the traditionalist position being that the *Times* is *the* paper of record and should confine itself to the Homeric task of getting down in grey and white everything that happens to everybody. That is its claim to greatness and a cogent one it is. But Reston's reservations are significant nonetheless, especially under the circumstances in which the book appears. He wrote *The Artillery of the Press* for the formidable Elihu Root lecture series of the Council on Foreign Relations and could not have been delivering them other than as a usually reliable spokesman for the *New York Times.* If the *Times* has come to agree with Lichtheim, however, it may have done so imprudently. It will be generations before radio and television will be anything more than supplemental to the full written record, no more so for the citizen who struggles to stay well-informed than for the researcher, the compiler, the historically curious. Comprehensive news records may come in different packages—they may be fed to us electronically as we sleep, or projected on the backs of our eyeballs by submicroscopic computers—but they will be needed. For it is precisely "spot news," so much despised, which is our stay against illusion or, worse, ideology.

Reston makes two other points of more than passing interest. The first is, roughly, that there is a greater danger of the accumulation of excessive power in the government, and primarily the Executive, than in the press. Just so. And he correctly reasons therefrom that the "rising power of the United States . . . requires not a more compliant press, but a relentless barrage of facts and criticism, as noisy and accurate as artillery fire." Fine. But what Reston does not note, and what the Council on Foreign Relations, for instance, would refuse to acknowledge is that the most influential segments of the press are invariably *in favor* of the augmentation of Executive powers. That is: Reston, Lippmann, Pearson, *ad filum viae.* It is not the Kilpatricks, Buck-

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leys, and Chamberlains who are curtailing the relentless barrage.

Reston's other point has a little dipsy-doodle. While remarking the natural tension between newsmen and newsmakers, and while admitting even that to govern effectively is sometimes to govern secretly (the life of this eternal verity may have been foreshortened by the recent CIA disclosures, which Mr. Reston could not, presumably, have foreseen), Reston calls *passim* for greater cooperation between reporters and officials in discharging their respective obligations. Reporters can in time, he is confident, learn to make use of the official's talents and special capabilities. And vice versa. In the embrace of peaceful cooperation, the reporter will become "more of an ally of the government official than a competitor." In this bright tomorrow, apparently, the artillery of the press will be stilled. We will hear only the hum of improved interpersonal relations.

But here we trip over the myopia of Reston's previous point. To an alarming degree, the artillery of the press *has* been stilled. Can anyone conceive of a reporter this side of the law with better relations with government officials than James Reston? Can anyone remember the last time that Reston or any of the other big guns forced the government to retreat from a position of power already occupied —or even argued energetically to deny to it a plot of virgin land?

Where Scientists Fear to Tread

GORDON TULLOCK

MR. WEYL is a very brave man. In this book he violates a whole series of major intellectual taboos. This fact, taken together with his general reputation, is surely going to lead to shrill and biased attacks on his book from the Establishment. Since my review will also contain some serious criticism, I should like to start by saying that I do not object to his investigating the possibility that certain ethnic groups are genetically superior to others. In fact, I think that more such research should be done. The nature versus nurture controversy has been going on in theoretical terms for a long time now. It should be possible to end the argument by empirical investigation. Nor do I have any great objection to his ultimate conclusions, that certain groups (Jews, Scots and Chinese) are indeed superior. It happens to be my opinion that no significant genetic differences between ethnic groups exist, but I am aware of the fact that this is only an opinion. The evidence on the point is not now so strong that anyone can be sure. My objections to Weyl's research, then, are not just an expression of bias on my part.

Weyl's basic method is both simple and ingenious. As he points out, the basic idea had been independently discovered by Huntingdon. The Social Security Administration has published a list of the most common 1514 names on its rolls, together with the number of people bearing each name. Some of these names—Wong, Cohen, and Wilson, for example—are fairly unambiguously associated with a definite ethnic group. He computes the percentage of the total population which have, say, German names. The next step is to take some large list of people who have elite status in our society. *American Men of Science* would be one such list. Weyl works out the percentage of people on that list who have the same set of German names. If the percentage of people having the German names is higher in *American Men of Science* than in the Social Security Administration list, then he concludes that Germans are making a more than proportionate contribution to the development of science. There are some further elaborations, which I will not go into here, but the major part of the book is devoted to an examination of the results of such comparisons. He has accumulated 37 elite lists, ranging from the social register to members of Phi Beta Kappa, and the general pattern which comes out of these data is one of clear-cut Jewish superiority. Weyl explains this through selection of the intellectually superior for survival in the long Jewish oppression in the ghettos and the pale. The lesser superiority of the Scots and Chinese is also explained by genetic factors.

The Creative Elite in America, by Nathaniel Weyl. Public Affairs Press, $6.00

THE BASIC APPROACH is, I think, sound, but there are a number of very serious objections to Weyl's use of it. The first which comes to mind is simply that children take the names of their fathers, and German men sometimes marry Irish girls. Names are, thus, less than perfect indicators of ethnic background. This objection is less important than it at first appears, however, because there is a good deal of intra-group marriage, particularly among Jews. Still, I would have appreciated more discussion of the problem than Weyl provides. In part, however, this weakness is not his fault. No one investigator can cover everything. Weyl depends upon the work of others in this area, and there isn't very much work available. Further, sophisticated statistical techniques should be able to provide some information even if there is a great deal of intermarriage.

This, however, brings us to a more fundamental weakness in Weyl's book, his rather old-fashioned approach to statistics. At one point he says that his "data can be subjected to statistical tests of significance" but he does not give any such test. Reading between the lines, I think he regarded any correlation as significant if it involved five or more observations. This is clearly a gravely inadequate test. If he did use it, he must have many correlations which he considers significant which are the result of mere chance. Given the way he presents his data it is impossible to tell which these are. Further, he shows no sign of even knowing about the more sophisticated techniques available for obtaining information from the sort of data he has collected. He has shown considerable ingenuity

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in obtaining data, but his analysis normally shows that he is not at home with mathematics.

My final objection concerns his basic conclusion, that the differences between the ethnic groups are genetic. The family environment of a Jewish child is quite different from that experienced by a child brought up in an Irish household. If the Jewish adult is different from the Irish adult, how does that help us in deciding whether it was heredity or environment which caused the difference? Weyl discusses the issue seriously only once, and then devotes only a page to it. Here he points out that the superior academic performance of Jews could be explained either by greater inherent intelligence or by better motivation. He then suggests an experiment to find out which explanation is correct. For the rest of the book, however, he simply assumes that the differences are genetic, not the results of environmental differences. Actually, although he does not discuss the point, some of his data point toward environmental rather than genetic causes. There are several cases where ethnic groups changed their relative positions over rather short periods of time. It would be easier to explain these shifts as the result of changing habits of child-rearing than as mass mutations.

Having been critical of Mr. Weyl's book, I should like to close by pointing out that he has at least undertaken investigations in areas where other scholars have feared to tread. I do not think this is a good book, but if I were asked to name a better one in the field, I would be unable to do so. The general reader seeking enlightenment on the subject should not begin with Weyl. If, however, any scholar decides to try this area of research he should give *The Creative Elite in America* most careful attention.

Planning *v.* Innovation

WILLIAM F. RICKENBACKER

QUITE A LITERATURE has sprung up, in recent years, that falls between the poles of socialism and free enterprise. The fashionable thing now is to grant that the free market has its uses, but to assert nevertheless that its great failings must be compensated by some form of positive government intervention, substitution, regulation, or competition.

In this dark, one of the most important recent stabs was Andrew Shonfield's *Modern Capitalism,* an elaborate attempt to explain why the police power of the state is the only thing that can save mankind from its uninhibited attempt to produce for itself what it wants most. Strange that we have libertarians who disdain to be censors of the word but leap at the chance to be censors of the Thing.

THE VOLUME here edited by Bowen and Mangum is at least honest enough to admit that all of the horrendous prophecies of six or eight years ago were surrealistic. Animals replaced men, machines replaced animals, automation replaced machines, and cybernetics replaced automation—and lo! we will still have seventy million employed, and anyone who reads the Help Wanted pages of the daily newspaper will understand that automation hasn't exactly made human labor a drug on the market. So far so good. But there is an interesting question that has not been asked. Suppose that the authors of the gloomy prophecies had been, eight or ten years ago, in positions of power? Suppose they had laid plans back then for the economy of the Soaring Sixties according to their then lights? We would have had millions on relief, businesses shut down because of the supposedly harmful national side-effects of proposed automation, and perhaps even more of a labor shortage than we now have in certain simple hand-chores. We should be very glad that we did not have a centralized economic authority directed by those who issued, a few years ago, their now provenly erroneous forecasts of the evils of—let's call a spade a spade—efficiency.

Automation and Economic Progress, edited by Howard R. Bowen and Garth L. Mangum. Prentice Hall, $4.95

Welfare and Planning: An Analysis of Capitalism versus Socialism, by Heinz Kohler. Wiley, $4.95

The Amercian Economy to 1975: An Interindustry Forecast, by Clopper Almon Jr. Harper, $9.50

KOHLER TRIES to be judicious, even stand-offish, as between those obvious extremes, capitalism and socialism. But he really means freedom versus socialism (for socialism can be a form of capitalism, i.e. state capitalism), and faced with this choice

he plumps for freedom. Unfortunately he believes that the strongest safeguard of freedom is an economy pretty much hedged about by an all-knowing government. And unfortunately for his thesis he doesn't tell how the government is to come by its all-knowingness. One must presume that the Kohler model is another of those modern and fashionable hybrids, made of capitalism accepted on the basis of experience, and socialism adhered to on the basis of faith, or perhaps a belief in economic miracles.

Almon interests me. He is a technical economist, who writes in algebra, and his heart is certainly not in the wrong place, because he allows it to be nowhere at all. He undertakes to describe what we'll all be doing in this country ten years from now, granted certain assumptions in world politics. He has very carefully worked out the extrapolations of past experience, and has keyed the input of this industry to the output of all others connected with it, and has "balanced his books" in the best tradition of economic model-building. If there were to be a planned economy in this country, Almon would be the lad to plan it (and I have the

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sneaking suspicion that he would *not* like to plan it). Almon knows more about 1975 than anyone, and he knows it more surely and more scientifically. Anyone who would like to understand something of the planned economy should study Almon's treatise with an eagle eye.

Because, no matter how hard he tried, Almon couldn't come close to telling us what is going to be happening in this country ten years from now. Our transportation system will have been revolutionized. Our agriculture will have changed by quantum jumps. Many companies and even whole industries will have died. New industries (ocean desalination, space travel, monorail, automatic readout, automatic medical diagnosis . . .) will have cropped up. New companies will start up—at the usual rate of 15,000 a year.

WHAT we have here is the rampant inventiveness and spontaneity of free men trying to offer new services and things to their fellows, at a profit. Nothing new in theory, but when you read the modern economic literature you'd think it was revolutionary to talk about the unpredictable richness of the free-interchange system of geting things done. If the government will leave American men and women alone to work towards their dreams, then they will produce the most unimaginable lot of novelties and innovations, oddities and unforeseeables, brilliancies and necessities. I do not know what they will be. Who *does* know what we shall be making or demanding in 1975, assuming we are still free men in 1975? No one *knows*. Mathematicians like Almon *pretend* to know, and they dress up their pretenses in equations and numerals, but that does not affect the veracity of their case. They say nothing (Almon says nothing) about the degree of innovation, the rate of change, the alteration in public taste which may occur in the next decade. If Almon, scientist though he be, were in charge of actually *planning* our economy for the next ten years, he would have no choice but to adhere to his scientific forecast (which occupied him for five years), and make it come true by stomping on every new idea that might upset his calculations.

Planners, even the best of them, cannot innovate. They can stultify. The market takes its signals from the future. It anticipates. The planner builds entirely on the past. He is the *total* conservative, who sees backward only. He is the kind of gentleman who says, because in the eighteenth century the Constitution said something about establishing post roads, we must now adhere firmly to the doctrine of perpetuating the monopoly the U.S. Post Office has on carrying the mails. The Post Office is a good example of *planning*. I can get the mail delivered to my house, five miles from the post office, for free. If I absolve the post office of this charge, by taking a box in the post office itself, I must pay for the privilege of saving the PO some money. Planning.

Aside from the overarching complaint that all "planning" is a diminution of liberty, there is the even clearer argument that all planning is necessarily done in the dark. Better not to have such folly visited upon us by compulsion.

Random Notes

● FOR KIDDIES: The Spring lists offer a wealth of reprinted children's classics. McGraw-Hill has Palmer Cox's *The Brownies: Their Book* (*circa* 1887) and *Another Brownie Book*, at $3.25 each. . . . Carl Carmer's collection of American folk-tales, *The Hurricane Children*, will be available again (McKay, $3.75). . . . *The Biography of a Grizzly*, written and illustrated by Ernest Thompson Seton, is back (Schocken, $3.95 cloth; $1.95 paper), as are two Edward Lear favorites, *The Owl and the Pussycat*, illustrated by William Pene DuBois (Doubleday, $2.95) and *The Pelican Chorus* with new pictures by Harold Benson (Parents Magazine Press, $2.95). . . .

Avon's "Camelot Books," a teen-age line, will reprint T. H. White's science-fiction tale, *The Master*, and Robert Murphy's *The Peregrine Falcon* (September, 60¢ each). Finally, the Johnson Reprint Corp. is reissuing several old, old books for and about children from the Osborne Collection of the Toronto Public Library. How about Isaac Taylor's *Scenes in America for the Amusement and Instruction of Little Tarry-at-Home Travelers*, originally published in 1821 ($8.50), or perhaps *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education in Boarding Schools*, which Erasmus Darwin wrote in 1797 for his two illegitimate daughters ($7.50)?

● NOTED: The *New York Times'* John Corry is rushing out a book, for Putnam, about the Manchester-Kennedy flap. . . . One Robert Reisner has prepared an anthology of graffiti for Parallax Publishers. . . . According to *Books*, Alka-Seltzer plans a *Guide to the Worst Restaurants in America*. . . .

● MOVIES: No American distributor can be found for *Rush to Judgment*, which is being acclaimed in Paris and shown in a few New York houses. Collaborating with Mark Lane on the film was Emile De Antonio, perpetrator of the anti-McCarthy documentary, *Point of Order*. . . . Universal Pictures has a new process for coloring old black-and-white films. It's being tried on *All Quiet on the Western Front*, at a cost of $100,000 to $200,000. . . . John Huston has postponed start of his planned *Waterloo*. Seems he's committed to do the film with Dino De Laurentiis, but star Peter O'Toole won't work in Italy. Then there's the shortage of trained horse cavalry. . . . Screen version of *Endure and Conquer* will be called *The Sheppard Murder Case*; F. Lee Bailey will play himself. . . . Walter Reade Jr. and Maximilian Schell plan to co-produce Kafka's *The Castle*, with Schell starring. . . . Well, the German title is *Oh Vater, Armer Vater, Mutter Hing Dich in Den Schrank Und Ich Bin Ganz Krank*.

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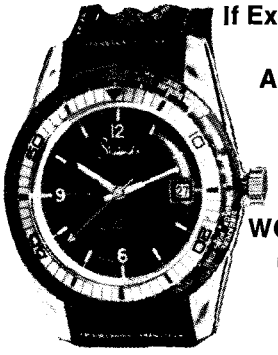

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Television

The Problem / Solution Industry

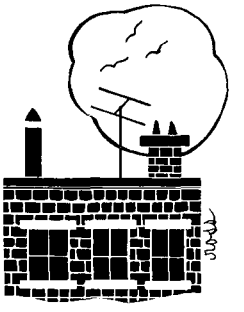
C. H. SIMONDS

I WRITE THIS with one eye on the 11 O'clock News. It is the eve of the Spring Mobilization to End the War in Guess Where, and the Bishop of Pittsburgh thinks Cardinal Spellman is wrong to defy the Pope, and Floyd McKissick feels it's perfectly all right for folks to carry Vietcong flags in the big parade tomorrow, and a teeny-bopper peacenik from Queens has been jailed for booby-trapping peace stickers (one exploded, injuring a small boy) and I don't know *what* to think about it all. By the time this reaches print, however, I will no doubt have watched a Special In-Depth Report on the anti-war movement, and been provided with an Answer. (I haven't seen the script, but I'm betting on that old favorite about the Value of Dissent to a Free Society.) How comfy to live in a world of Problems and Solutions.

Well, perhaps not exactly comfy—the Problems get awfully sticky sometimes, and the Solutions often are less than reassuring—but at least we are given the illusion that life can be coped with once all the Solutions have been doped out, and we are spared the pain of merely meditating on the dismal constants of the human condition. Newspapers, magazines and broadcasting are a vast Problem/Solution industry; television leads the field because it is perfectly suited to the process: it can pre-empt an hour between *Batman* and *Hogan's Heroes,* fill it with fifty minutes of Problem and ten of Solution, and presto! the Public Interest has been served. Splatters of modest applause are heard from the National Association of Broadcasters. Guerrillas in Latin America? Land reform, and quiet prayer! Teenage immorality, VD and The Pill? Understanding, and renewed efforts to Bridge the Gap between Generations! Pollution of air and water? Community concern, and quick action by The Government! No date for the Junior Prom? Yummy, the mouthwash that fights acne!

OF COURSE, it's all done with unbearable solemnity: we slump in acquiescence as our eardrums throb to the sepulchrally sonorous pronouncements of Frank McGee, Charles Kuralt, Joseph C. Harsch and such (or, if a note of gritty realism is needed, Morley Safer). With few exceptions—those frolicsome little essays on *Doors* and *Hotels* narrated by Harry Reasoner, for example—television becomes stuffy and self-conscious as soon as it puts on its Public Service toga. Perhaps it knows the viewers would rather be watching *I Dream of Jeannie.*

The approach can be applied to anything that frets people—for example, to popular music. One network recently offered a collection of snippets: a dib of The Mamas and The Papas, a dab of Simon and Garfunkel, snatches from several far-out rock and jazz groups and pan shots of crowds of youngsters either writhing obscenely or listening in slack-jawed, nodding absorption. The emphasis wasn't on the music (I can't recall hearing a single song all the way through), but on the outlandish dress, dances and hairdos of the performers and their audiences. The viewers in East Drainage were shown just enough to get their adrenalin pumping, then told by the announcer not to worry because kids are kids and, shucks, there's always gonna be something new and strange around the corner. I'm sure they all went to bed smiling benign, philosophical, Mary Worthish smiles. I didn't—I wanted to hear the songs.



Music is easier to explain to death than almost anything else, and television persists in taking the same basic approach as a third-grade music appreciation hour ("Now Beethoven hears a little birdie singing—listen, children, that's a *flute.*") jazzed up, in cases like the one just cited, with mouthings about Generational Revolt. There is a better way, which is most often taken by the rejuvenated Bell Telephone Hour. A recent Hour offered some old and a great deal

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of new, potentially alarming, music, all in the context of San Francisco. It was very pleasant: just music, and lots of good shots of the city and surrounding countryside. Nothing was reduced to a Problem, and we were allowed to come to our own terms with the more extreme things without benefit of explanations.

PREJUDICE is of course a dandy Problem, one from which the whole moral content can be removed at the stroke of a cliché. *The Victims,* a recent effort of the Westinghouse system broadcast by National Educational Television, dealt with the corrosive effects of prejudice on children. The presentation of the Problem was arresting enough that the Solution (Dr. Benjamin Spock prating a sleazy evasion about prejudice being an infectious disease) could be ignored, though not forgiven. We saw and heard grown-up WASPs uttering the customary stupidities about Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, Catholics *et cetera;* then little WASPs repeating their elders' attitudes; then the victims, young and old, describing their encounters with prejudice. Dr. Spock and the producers seemed to be concerned only with the pain inflicted on the victims; I was quite as distressed to hear the great steel shutters clanging down in the young minds of the WASPlets. The program took the position that, well, after all, prejudice is wrong because we're All Human—which is exactly the trouble, isn't it?

Television's latest go at the Nazi Atrocities Problem was rather better. NBC presented an adaptation of Peter Weiss' *The Investigation,* so instead of tendentious narration and old newsreel clips which dull our reactions by their very horridness, we saw just a courtroom filled with rather ordinary people, some of whom had done monstrous things to the others. The evidence presented was of single acts by single individuals; there were no vast tumbled heaps of anonymous corpses. When the experience is thus reduced to the human scale, the frightfulness comes through undimmed. There was no explicit Solution, or Answer; Weiss being a bit superficial, the implicit message was that a wicked system will dehumanize everyone it touches. Too easy—but anyway, the evidence itself bypassed solutions to suggest that there is such a thing as wicked-

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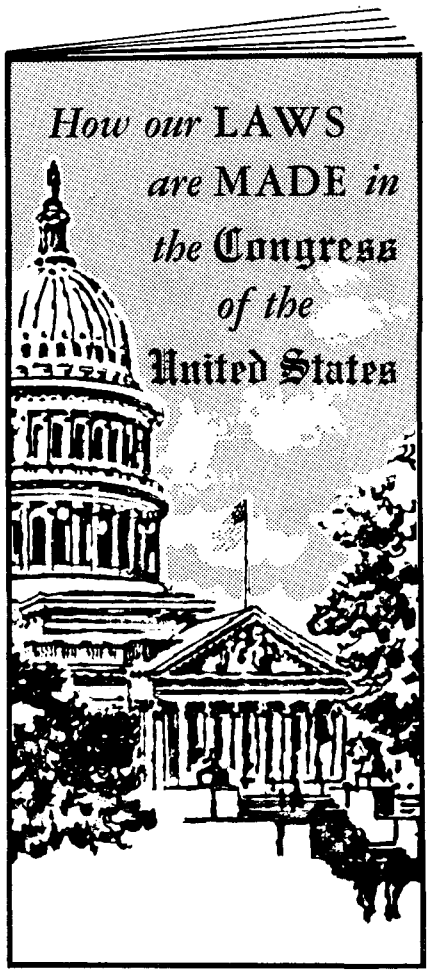

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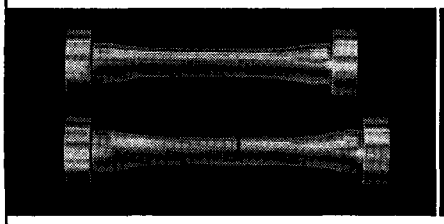

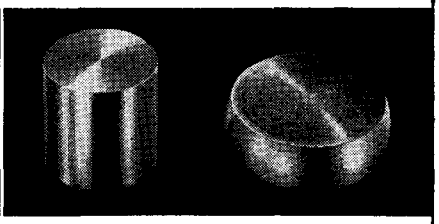

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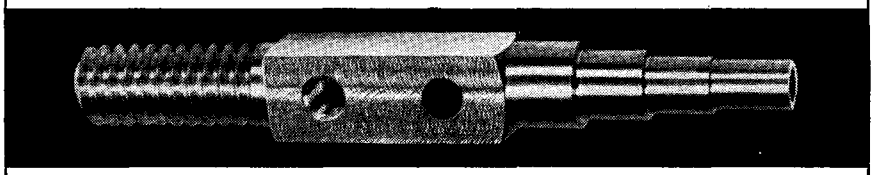

MACHINABILITY—The illustration indicates the machinability of Kennertium W-2. Observing the right end of the piece, successive single pass cuts of .100, .050, .035, and .020 depth were made. The flat surfaces were end milled. One hole was drilled, the other hole drilled and tapped. The left end of the piece was machined and threaded. All machining was performed without coolant.

Kennertium W-2 is a heavy tungsten alloy with a density of .67 lb./cu. in. that offers economy, ease of fabrication, and excellent machinability. For radioactive shielding, one inch of W-2 is equivalent to 1.62 inches of lead.

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KENNAMETAL

ness, and that it is not inhuman but all too human for a man to beat other men to death and then go home to amuse himself breeding rabbits.

ONCE IN A WHILE, however, television does a bang-up job on a Problem and then forgets to supply any Solution at all. A recent special by CBS News examined life in one building in a Negro slum on Chicago's South Side: nine families, five of them on welfare; at least forty children in the place, and only two resident fathers. The Omniscient Narrator was busy elsewhere, so the people spoke for themselves, giving the depressing details of life in a world of vermin and easy credit ($60 for a $30 suit), where children pass almost directly from the crib to premature, hopeless adulthood ("I always was grown up," a young mother said wistfully, "I never was a little girl"). At first, there is a lust for education, but it soon evaporates in unemployment and despair. The show told the whole story—yes, the tenants *do* throw garbage out the windows; yes, some women *do* have babies to get bigger welfare checks. Wait—the neighborhood is being Urban Renewed; the building itself will soon be razed. But the producers made it clear that Urban Renewal alone does little good; it destroys the only neighborhood these people know and, in the words of one man, "It's like takin' one big slum and puttin' in another—nothin's been changed because the people are the same."

The program set me to worrying about the Problems of slums, ghettos, poverty and people; because no Solution was proposed, I am still worried, and still thinking.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

IN THE HUMAN GRAIN, by Walter Ong, S. J. (Macmillan, $5.95). You have heard of the mark of Cain, but have you ever beheld the mark of Teilhard? It is a mark of intellectual murder and it is a frightening sight. Its proper name is "evolutionism", the view that takes off from Darwin's relatively limited biological theory of evolution, and then eagerly extrapolates to whole cosmologies, philosophies of history, social philosophies, etc. That Teilhardian impress is evident in this book, which reproduces, at times

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with wearisome repetitiveness, the author's ideas on sundry topics as these were presented in various publications back over the years. The author is an English professor and he is not at all bad in the sections of literary criticism. It is when he comes to science and philosophy and starts talking of "the fact of evolution" and the discovery of "cosmic evolution" that one winces and wishes that English professors would stick to English.

E. H. WALL

WAITING FOR WINTER, by John O'Hara (Random House, $5.95). As an author who writes both prolifically and well, O'Hara has become something of a bane to his critics. The worst that can be said of this latest collection of his short stories is that it is "uneven": some of the stories are good; the rest, even better. The theme which emerges from the work is the increasing secularization of American society. The resulting moral aimlessness becomes apparent whether the scene is New York, Hollywood, or Lantenengo County, Pennsylvania. Amorality and disaster are helplessly entwined in a social setting which increases the magnitude of tragedy by destroying its essential nobility through the denial of religious solace. The only consolation with which the O'Hara characters face life arises from their memory of ideals long discarded: a virtue once intact, a faith dimly recalled, a duty honorably discharged.

T. K. MEIER

SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (May 2)

LEE H. HAMILTON

AN IRONY OF THE POWELL AFFAIR:

A great irony of the Adam Clayton Powell affair is that the man who has been running from the courts is now running to them. . . . In days past, court orders have been playthings for him, now they become the vital means to enforce alleged rights.

(Mr. Hamilton is a member of the House of Representatives from Indiana.)

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Joel Adler, 2635 Haring Street, Brooklyn, New York
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Roger P. Siegel, 2036 E. 22nd Street, Cleveland, Ohio
I consider your ACCUMEN *the finest* shaver made. It cuts fast and close and produces no razor burn. Your ad is accurate in every detail. You have a superior product.

Harry L. Hooker, Box 11, Glasgo, Connecticut
I am very pleased with the ACCUMEN. It is all you claim it to be and much more. I have recommended it to all my friends. You may count me as a loyal user.

Rev. Wm. H. Hohman, Pastor, Alliance, Ohio
Please send me another ACCUMEN Shaver. This is the third one I have ordered — my friends seem to like them too much. If this keeps up I might become your East Coast representative.

Robert Buckner, 818 N. Doheny Drive, Los Angeles 69, California
There is only one word for the ACCUMEN—"superb". Please send me another one. I want it for my son's birthday.

L. D. Myrah, Williamson Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio
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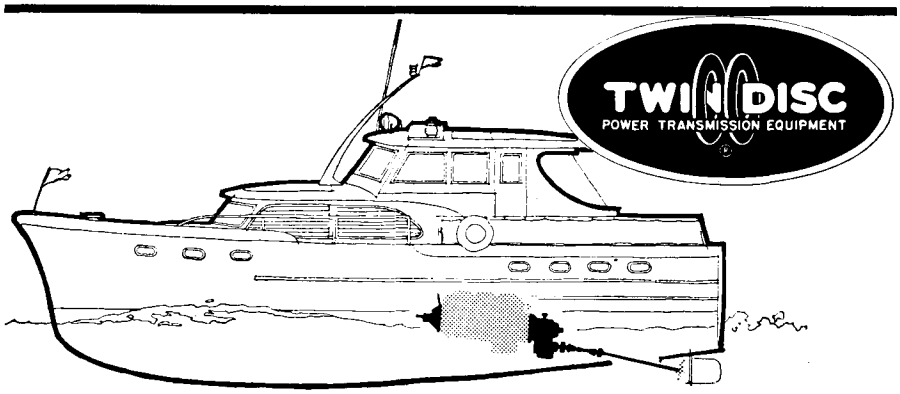

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TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from p. 500)

[April 18]. He concentrates instead on broad, catch-all phrases which Mr. McLuhan uses only after a thorough explanation of what they mean. Mr. Meyer ignores those explanations.

Mr. McLuhan never once, in any of his books, denies the ability of mankind to "determine" its own destiny. He merely shows *how* it has done so thus far. He has not betrayed mankind; he stands calmly within it. Unlike some of our more rampant individualists (the atavistic kind), he still considers himself a part of it.

Erie, Pa. MARK A. MANCINI

Assassination Theory

Now fun is fun and all that, but John Brennan's spoof of assassination stories [April 18] is a satire on a subject too serious to be let off with a laugh.

For more than a year I have been researching various assassination stories and have developed a theory, never revealed before, that I pass on to your excellent staff's most serious attention.

Actually, there were four assassins in Dallas on that fateful day. Unfortunately, only Lee Oswald was a good enough marksman to hit his target and the others missed. Assassins A and B were known to each other, and to Jack Ruby, but not to Oswald. Assassin C was an almost exact double of Oswald and a great and good friend of Mrs. Sylvia Dio and other right-wing-extremist-Cuban-exile-groups. He was not known to Oswald either, but was known to A and B, who were genuinely surprised to find him at the scene.

Hence it is possible to explain why the Warren Report covered up so much: they did not want to reveal that other simultaneous plots were working. Similarly, it is possible to explain how Popkin and Kempton were taken in by the strange "double evidence," and possible to explain what Weisberg and Lane, not to mention Isaac Don Levine, have known all along.

New York, N. Y. MICHAEL M. MOONEY

Medicant

Mr. William Henry Chamberlin's report on Medicare [April 18], multiplied by the million, may be recorded as the summary of our lives. From the inside I can assure Mr. Chamberlin: he ain't seen nothin' yet.

St. Petersburg, Fla. R. J. NEEDLES, M.D.

I would like to offer my strong endorsement of Dr. Ernest van den Haag's article, "Psychoanalysis and Fantasy" [Mar. 21]. When psychoanalysis is utilized outside of the consultation room, it runs the risk of being misused as a weapon in marital and parent-child rela-

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tions, friendships, industry, and by psychoanalysts who have chips on their shoulders!

New Brunswick, N.J. HERBERT S. STREAN
Assistant Professor
Graduate School of Social Work
Rutgers University

One Man's Pop

I thank you for the interesting article in your April 4 issue, "Pop Music: What's Been Happening" by Richard Corliss. It's nice to know that my favorite magazine shares the same views as I do on both politics and pop music.

Lombard, Ill. GAIL LYNN LARSON

Richard Corliss is, in my opinion, guilty of the most horrendous article to appear in your generally excellent magazine. Rock 'n' roll is an abomination. It is poison put to sound.

Monroe, Conn. ED MULFORD

Censored News

Your review of "Ivan Ivanovitch" [April 4] contained an interesting suggestion. Arching an eyebrow at the fact that ABC News was permitted to photograph this program after two other networks had been denied similar requests, you suggest that if all American news media "blacked out the Soviet scene the next time a U. S. network or newspaper gets leaned on," the Russians would be good boys and end censorship entirely.

This may be an acceptable solution for the NATIONAL REVIEW, which apparently does not care to observe such parts of the real world of which it disapproves. It is not acceptable to ABC News, which considers it a journalist's duty to report reality—no matter how distasteful that reality may be.

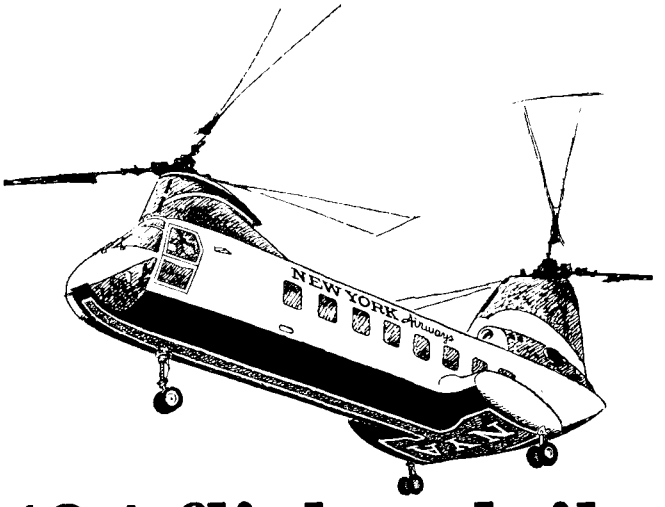
THOMAS H. WOLF, Director
Television Documentary Programs
American Broadcasting Co.
New York, N. Y.

When ABC News reports reality, NR *will tune in.* —ED.

Spain and the Rock

Peter Crumpet is off base re Gibraltar [April 4]. First of all, not to be concerned with the aspirations and loyalties of 19,000 odd natives of that rock would be like not being concerned with the people of, say, California if and when Mexico asserts her claim.

As to the quality of Spain as an ally, I find it sadly lacking. Spain has been losing since the Armada. Once the richest nation in the world, it prostituted its currency through deficit spending, created a class dependent on government largesse, taxed industry to extinction, and followed a maritime policy which caused the majority of the trade to be conducted in foreign bottoms. The Dutch



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WAUGH

(Continued from p. 528)

finer than their own prized Falernian. Why should not some California valley tilted at a certain angle to the sun contain fate-favored folds of soil capable of producing wines as great as the European but different from them as claret is from Burgundy and Chablis from Moselle, some new supremacy of bouquet that will permanently enrich mankind?

It is fine that the White House is concerned about California's wines. Could it not go a step further, and add the minor project to its many ampler ones—the search for nobler vineyards?

TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from p. 539)

used to say of Spain that you carried cargo in and gold out.

The reason the Spanish lost Gibraltar was that they were bankrupt and unable to defend it. No doubt the affront to them would be like occupation of Key West by Castro to us. I say, let Gibraltar remain under the sovereignty of the Queen, if nothing else as a reminder to both them and us of the fate of profligate reigns.

Bremerton, Wash. LCDR T. M. RYAN, USN

The Golden Horn

In your April 4 issue, Mr. James Burnham writes under "Clouds Over the Golden Horn." Well, nowhere can I find that this peninsula on the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb is called the Golden Horn. The translation of Bab-el-Mandeb means "Straits of Tears." I have worked in this general area for over twenty years and when anyone referred to the Golden Horn it was the crescent-shaped arm of the Bosporus on which Istanbul is situated. Please advise who those old mariners are who refer to the Ras Bir peninsula as the "Golden Horn."

San Francisco, Cal. WALTER W. OFFNER

James Burnham's intended reference was to what is often called "the horn of Africa" (cf. Encyclopedia Britannica, *1950 ed., vol. 20, p. 965: "In general outline it [Somaliland] forms an irregular triangle with its apex at Cape Guardafui, thereby gaining the name of the 'horn' of Africa."). It is quite correct that "Golden Horn" usually refers to the site of Istanbul.* —ED.

Soviet Economy

NR readers owe Roger Freeman a debt for his fascinating "inside" glimpse into the operations of the Command Economy of the Soviets [Mar. 7]. Since the Command Economy in this case is centrally directed as well as motivated, any motivated changes in process come from the Apparat—not from any group- or segment-oriented interest. Therefore to hold, as Mr. Freeman does unwittingly, that these changes are group-oriented denies the basic nature of the system itself.

The diversion of more of the relatively small production of this Command Economy to a favored group does indicate, however, a basic weakness in its production processes. The aim of the Apparat in permitting incentives for hard work by a few means that the smaller skilled labor force must be more intensively utilized to improve the production functions of either key plants or key industry segments. That is, there appears to be a vast waste of scarce resources which somehow must be rectified.

It is no wonder that any small inducement brings out a horde of unskilled labor, male as well as female, to clean the streets, the subways in Moscow, and dig ditches and tote heavy burdens. It becomes very hard to understand how the Command Economy of Russia and the somewhat (but less and less) consumer-oriented economy of the U. S. are therefore drawing closer together.

Brooklyn, N. Y. PAUL ANDERSON

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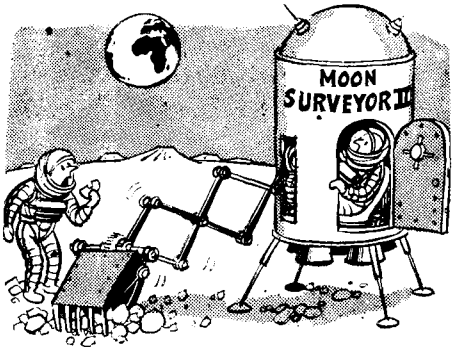
FOR THE RECORD

■ It may be bye-bye baby for Dr. **Benjamin Spock** and SANE. Last week SANE announced that none of its officers hereafter might sponsor any other peace organizations without the okay of the board of directors. It was slap at Spock for joining the Communist-tinged Spring Mobilization for peace and the **Martin Luther King, Robert Scheer** (*Ramparts*) Vietnam Summer group. . . . Rep. **Emanuel Celler** of N.Y. furious at King, **Stokely Carmichael.** Celler says their recent inflammatory statements have "severely injured the civil rights movement," made it almost impossible for liberal congressmen to get any civil rights legislation through Congress this year. . . . Unexpected attack by former New Dealer **Thurman Arnold** on his one-time pals **Walter Lippmann, John K. Galbraith, Henry Steele Commager, Eugene Carson Blake** for their opposition to the Vietnam war. Says Arnold: "Their military advice is to stop shooting the enemy on the theory that if we did the gratitude of the enemy would be so great as not to take advantage of it."

■ **Jean-Paul Sartre** says it was **Hubert Humphrey,** on his recent trip to Europe, who persuaded **de Gaulle** to give **Bertrand Russell**'s war crimes tribunal its walking papers. . . . **Ralph Schoenman,** Russell's American aide, was escorted by French police from Orly to Le Bourget airport when he had to change planes on a Prague-to-London flight a fortnight ago. . . . Swedish lawyer **Frank Hallis Wallin** has volunteered to defend the United States before the Russell tribunal. . . . (Russell himself will not be attending the trial because of his age. He's on a liquid diet that includes seven double shots a day of Red Hackle Scotch.)

■ Busy campaigning: former Gov. **Orval Faubus** of Arkansas. He's making hawkish statements all over the state, will probably make primary run against **J. William Fulbright** next spring. . . . Another hawk, former Rep. **Robert Duncan** (he put up brisk fight against **Mark Hatfield** in '66) is expected to take on dove **Wayne Morse** in Oregon Democratic primary. Duncan has **LBJ**'s full backing. . . . **Republicans for Progress** (group which is what it sounds like) has weighed new GOP freshmen congressmen: rates 32 of them more or less conservative, sixteen more or less liberal. . . . Latest Gallup shows **Hubert Humphrey** shading **Robert F. Kennedy** in Vice Presidential preference poll for first time in a year. It's now HHH 51 per cent, RFK 49 per cent; last November it was RFK 61 per cent to HHH's 39. Probable reason: discontent over **Manchester** book episode plus impression that Humphrey did well on European trip. . . . Los Angeles maverick Democratic Mayor **Sam Yorty** says he'll support Lyndon Johnson in '68, but adds, "I can't think of anyone I wouldn't support against Bobby."



Mansbridge, *Daily Sketch*, London
Ben Roth Agency
"Great snakes—it's made of cheese!"

■ Bad news: *Tocsin,* the well-informed West Coast anti-Communist journal, is in danger of folding: no funds. . . . *Exclusive,* Fulton Lewis III's newsletter, claims that federal funds are being used through New York's Mobilization for Youth, to defend ten peaceniks who demonstrated against **Cardinal Spellman** a month ago. . . . *National Guardian* carries on front page (April 29) an article it claims was written by long-missing **Che Guevara.** It's billed as first message from Che since he left Cuba. . . . Very latest rumors place Guevara in Bolivia, but he ain't there, according to Bolivian Communist leader **Jorge Kolle Cueto,** who says: "If I knew where Guevara was I could sell the information and support our guerrillas for life."

■ Prince **Norodom Sihanouk** of Cambodia, neutralist *par excellence,* has rejiggered his cabinet, assumed emergency powers. Sihanouk in heap big trouble: Communist rebels have attacked police stations, started terrorist campaign in Battambang Province. In addition, Sihanouk is just discovering that Red Chinese arms he was receiving for *his* army are being diverted to Vietcong elements in Cambodia's privileged sanctuaries. . . . North Korean newsman **Lee Soo Keum,** who made spectacular getaway at a recent Panmunjom conference, says North Korea hasn't the slightest intention of sending troops to Vietnam despite threats of its leaders. . . . Red China and Indonesia on verge of diplomatic break after respective ouster of remaining top diplomats from Jakarta and Peking. (Incidental note of no importance: the now-expelled Indonesian Chargé in Peking is **Baron Sutadisastra.**)

■ Cold, Clear Light of Day Note: Statement by President **Massemba-Debat** of the Congo (Brazzaville) upon notification that Congolese unions were demanding nationalization of all business enterprises: "Let's be sensible. What can we nationalize in the Congo? Nationalization here is senseless."

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